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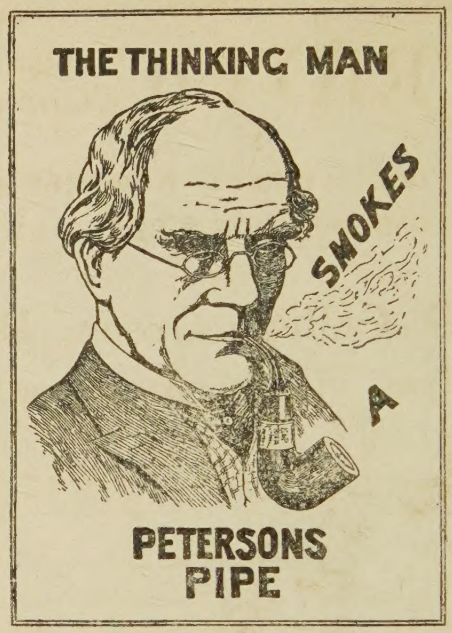

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JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, ESQ., Chartered Accountant, 46 Dame Street

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REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS

OF

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 29th day of January, 1923

The Directors submit herewith the Statement of Accounts for the half-year ending 31st December, 1922.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, and bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to ..	£56,773 12 8
To which has to be added:—	
Balance of undivided profits from last Account	11,427 8 7
	£68,201 1 3
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of	£23,971 16 10
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz.:—	
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of Ten per cent. per annum (subject to deduction of Income Tax)	25,000 0 0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account	5,000 0 0
To next Account	14,229 4 5
	£68,201 1 3

A special profit of £126,028 3s. 2d. has been realised on Sale of Investments. Of this profit, £50,000 has been transferred to Contingencies Account; the balance—£76,028 3s. 2d.—has been added to the Reserve Fund, which now stands at £400,000.

The Directors retiring by rotation are Mr. CHARLES ERNEST LAMBKIN and MR. PATRICK JOSEPH BRADY. They are eligible and offer themselves for re-election.

In accordance with the provisions of the Companies (Consolidation) Act, 1908, it will be necessary for the Shareholders to elect an Auditor for the ensuing year. MR. JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, the present Auditor, offers himself for re-election.

By Order of the Board,

ALFRED T COLLINS,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 16*th January*, 1923.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 31st DECEMBER, 1922 Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	ASSETS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Capital, viz. :—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000 ; amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000 0 0		By Cash in hand and with Bankers ...	1,710,046 1 2	
,, Reserve Fund	400,000 0 0		,, Investments, viz. :—		
,, Deposit, Current, and other Credit Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	15,894,513 13 8		War Loans and other Government Stocks	9,021,884 12 4	
,, Sundry Agents	42,953 7 0		Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks and other Securities	150,467 4 6	
,, Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	8,771 7 9			10,882,397 18 0	
,, Profit and Loss Account ... £68,201 1 3			,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc.	5,782,494 17 8	
Less : Transferred to Reserve Fund ... £23,971 16 10			,, Sundry Agents	47,438 2 7	
	44,229 4 5		,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches), written down to	178,136 14 7	
	£16,890,467 12 10				£16,890,467 12 10

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ending 31st December, 1922

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
To Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees, Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, Bonuses and Grants to Staff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, Inland Revenue Taxes, and all other outlay ...	123,028 18 1	
,, Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	23,971 16 10	
,, Dividend to be paid in February, 1923, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... £ 25,000 0 0		
,, Bank Premises Acct. 5,000 0 0		
,, Balance to next Acct. 14,229 4 5		
	44,229 4 5	
	£191,229 19 4	
By Balance from last Account ...		11,427 8 7
,, Gross Profits for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, and Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies		179,802 10 9
		£191,229 19 4

AUDITOR'S REPORT.

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have required in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

I have verified the Investments. Their market value as on 31st December, 1922, is in excess of the amount at which they stand in the Balance Sheet. I have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & Co.),
Chartered Accountant, Auditor.

DUBLIN, 16*th January*, 1923.

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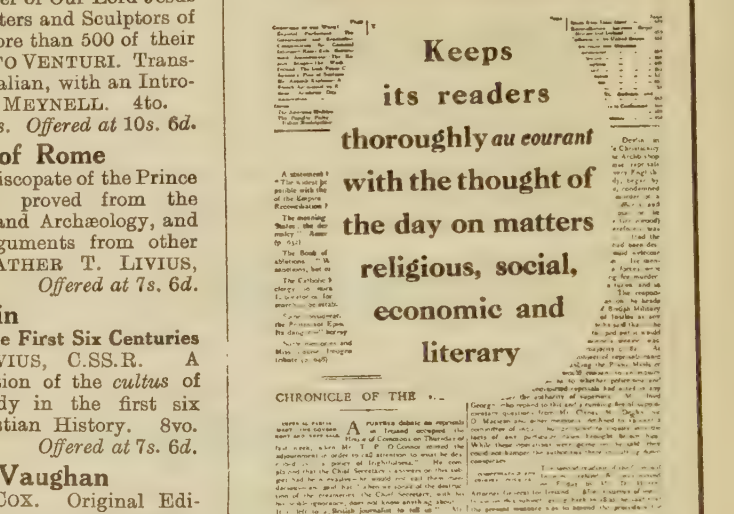

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STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

MARCH 1923

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LESSONS OF REVOLUTION

BY A.E.

I HAVE found few people in Ireland deeply concerned about the ethics of civil war or revolution. The majority accept the principle that it is lawful to use physical force in support of high ideals. Their questioning is about the justice of the cause ; and, if that be admitted, they seem to think the right to use physical force to secure its triumph follows in logical and unquestionable sequence. I will not discuss the morality of civil war or revolution. I remember a man, tired of ideal ethics, who cried out at a meeting many years ago : " Let us hear no more of the good man or the bad man. Let us speak of the wise man and the foolish man." I am like that man. I desire to question the wisdom of a policy rather than discuss the original rightness of a cause.

A policy is wise if, in operation, it secures the triumph of the ideal. It is unwise if, in destroying opposition, it does not at the same time establish in the hearts of men the lovable and desirable life for which the struggle was begun. I think few disinterested thinkers dispute the moral justice of the ideals of the Russian revolutionaries who desired to bring about such a control and use of the natural resources of their country that none would be poor or hungry or neglected. Was the policy adopted wise as the ideal was right ? Did it succeed ? Could it have succeeded even if there was no blockade or foreign intervention ? Lenin and Bukarin have learned wisdom. They confess to great errors. Where lay the unwisdom ?

Bukarin says it lay in this, that they provoked a revo-

lution without the technical competence to realise their ideal. On the plane of physical force they won. On the intellectual plane they were defeated. Bukarin admits that, to save the economic situation, they had to restore the control of industry to the enemies of the revolution. Intellect, science, administrative ability could not be improvised, being evolutionary products. The revolutionaries now fall back on evolution and declare their hope lies in education. They begin again in the neglected sphere of culture.

The Irish revolution, which began in Easter Week, has also triumphed solely in externals. Our spiritual, cultural, and intellectual life has not changed for the better. If anything, it has retrograded. Nothing beautiful in the mind has found freer development. In so far as anything is done efficiently, it is done by administrators, educationists, officials and guiders of industry, who maintain, so far as permitted by circumstances, the habits engendered before the war for independence. The Anglicization of the Irish mind remains unaffected. The Gaelic movement was the one movement in Ireland with a truly national character. It began its work in the soul, not on the body. It inspired a few heroes to fight ; but the transfer of energy to the plane of physical conflict weakened it ; and now, when there is theoretical possibility of a Gaelic state, there are not Gaels in numbers and intellect competent to take control. The mass of people in the country continue to think as they did before the revolution.

If the Republicans succeeded in establishing a republic, the country would be as Anglicized as ever, because the Republic, no more than the Free State, could improvise culture, experience, intellect or administrative ability. It is practically certain that after a period of muddle,—for their leaders have even less administrative experience than the Free State politicals, they would be forced like the Russians to fall back on the technical competents of the old order to prevent chaos. The Gaelic state cannot

be established unless there are Gaels in multitude to administer it. The momentum of the old order carries us along in Ireland hardly deflected a hair's breadth from the old cultural lines. It would carry us along despite the legal establishment of a Republic,—a purely external thing, just as that human momentum ignored the legal establishment of a Free State.

Inevitably also, after a victory brought about by the wreckage of the economic life of the people, the preoccupation of all with the work of material reconstruction would thrust all spiritual and cultural ideals out of sight. It would give people a sense of nausea to have them discussed. The moods by which high spiritual, political or cultural ideals are appreciated are engendered in times of peace. The Free State came into being with popular feeling stagnant. Why was this ? Seven years of sensation had dulled the heart and made it insensitive. If a Republic were proclaimed in Ireland next year or the year after, would there be any more exultation ? I think not. Another year or two of civil conflict and the heart would have been unhappy so long that it would have become fixed in sadness. The citizens would gaze with the same apathetic dulness on Republican deputies going to Dail meetings that they now display when deputies attend the Free State assembly.

A deep mistrust exists in Ireland about the wisdom, character and intelligence of its politicals. As regards some of them this mistrust is, I believe, unjustified. In other times these men might have won the rightly-placed confidence of the people ; but they cannot, and it is not their fault, win affection or excite enthusiasm in seared and cynical hearts. Our over-long employment of physical force has prohibited the spiritual genius from manifestation among the people. It has almost become atrophied from disuse. The triumph of spiritual or cultural ideals cannot be brought about by physical force, but only by labours of the imagination and intellect. We have not

laboured long enough in that field, and this is the cause of our failure in Ireland, of the moral depression, and why we seem immeasurably more distant from a spiritual nationalism than we were in 1914. We would not use the intelligence with which nature had so abundantly endowed us. We hated reading and thinking like the old Turks. How many bookshops are there outside Dublin, Cork, and a few other towns? We have set up the machinery of self-government. The body is fashioned, but the Gaelic soul is incapable of functioning.

The champions of physical force have, I am sure, without intent, poisoned the soul of Ireland. All that was exquisite and lovable is dying. They have squandered a spirit created by poets, scholars and patriots of a different order, spending the treasure lavishly as militarists in all lands do, thinking little of what they squander save that it gives a transitory gilding to their propaganda. With what terrible images have they not populated the Irish soul as substitutes for that lovable life! The very children in the streets play at assassination, ambush and robbery. Manhood maintains in new forms the spirit of the games of youth. What future lies before the present generation? Modern psychology, after long years of research and experiment, has come to attach the utmost importance to the images in the mind. Once an image is implanted, an energy latent in the being operates through the image, as the earth gives energy to whatever seed may be flung in the clay. If these are images of health, the energy works through the image and the body becomes as the mind. If these are images of despair, the body itself grows listless. But if the images are of assassination and destruction, what follows? Thoughts and moods breed true to type, as do birds and beasts and fishes.

Where is it to end? If it be lawful for a section of the people, simply because they hold their ideal to be the highest, to use force to impose that ideal on the rest,

every other group may consider itself justified in following the precedent. Why should not the proletarians in Ireland, suffering far more than middle-class nationalism has ever suffered under British rule, also use physical force to upset a social order which has never brought them physical plenty or intellectual life? Why should not Catholics or Protestants, holding sincerely to the truth of their religion, make war on those who differ from them to prevent injury to immortal souls—surely worse than injury to bodies? I could name a dozen causes all of which could be made to appear as shining in the sight of Heaven and humanity as the political idealism which is now wrecking Ireland. If politicians refuse the democratic solution of our troubles, if they insist on force, we will have proletarian wars and religious wars. Does not recent history show how easy it would be to excite such passions, how ready they are to flare up with an accompaniment of burning houses? The end of it all would be that the most ruthless militarism would conquer; and how long might it be before the tiniest flower of the soul could push up through that ice to begin a new spring in the heart?

We can establish Irish nationality only by building in the heart and the imagination. When we fight we level life to that of the primitive savage, before the imagination had built up the high poetry, arts, architecture and sciences which make civilisation and distinguish race from race. We extinguish national characteristics, for there is no difference between killers in any country. They are all beasts for the time being—Russians, Germans, French, English, Irish—all the same. It is easy for a nation to break with its past in a few tragic years. The Great Famine made such a break in Irish life. The heart was too dead to grow its flowers, and beautiful traditions and customs withered with human life out of memory. The civil conflict which is devastating Ireland, if it does not end speedily, will part us from what

was saved of lovable national life and character. In the Apocalypse a spirit blows a trumpet, and a third part of life perishes. Another trumpet is blown, and the waters of life turn bitter and men die because of the bitterness. These images might stand for the tragedy which is past and for the tragedy which is to come.

I cannot understand the faith of those who act on the belief that a nation is immortal and can survive any strain. Nations are no more immortal than individuals. The dust of the desert is over great cities whose inhabitants loved their country with no less a passion than Irish nationalists have loved theirs. Earth is dense with traditions of perished nationalities. If a nation is like a dissolute youth who impairs his vitality by excesses, it will perish as surely and by as inexorable a law of life as the debauchee. There comes a point where recovery is impossible. Something—a skeleton or larva—may survive, but not the nation with confident genius. There will always be herdsmen to look after the bullocks; but the genius of the Gael, if this conflict continues for much longer, will have vanished from its place of birth. The curious in psychology may seek to trace a flash of character here and there in some state of the new world to a possible Gaelic ancestry—

> "a phrase,
> As in wild earth a Grecian vase."

THE BALTIC STATES FROM AN IRISH POINT OF VIEW

BY FRANCIS MCCULLAGH
Moscow Correspondent of the *New York Herald*

IV.—Lithuania [1]

THE Lithuanians, who number about two and a half millions,[2] are in a different position to any other of the Baltic peoples. Never subdued by force of arms, they voluntarily linked their fate to that of the Poles—a people entirely different from them in race and language—much as the Scots linked their fate to that of the English ; and this union was formally affirmed by the Treaty of Lublin in 1569. The noble Lithuanian families went down underneath the Russian steamroller. When the Russians were driven away by the Germans during the Great War, the Lithuanian people (with the exception of the nobles and gentry, who still remained ultra-Polish) said to their former allies : "We are going to be an independent nation." The Poles did not like this ; but when they saw that it could not be helped, they took possession of Vilna, formerly the capital of Lithuania, but partially polonized during the course of many centuries. Nominally, it was not Poland which seized Vilna, but a Division of the Polish army said to be composed of Poles from Lithuania and commanded by Zeligovsky, a Polish general. The Polish Government says that it had nothing to do with the seizure of the city ; but, having visited Vilna recently, I must say that, according to all appearances, it is Poland which is in possession ; and the Lithuanian

[1] For Parts I, II, III see issues of March, June and September, 1922.
[2] There are, besides, about a million Lithuanians in America.

authorities have shown me a mass of evidence proving that Warsaw is certainly behind Zeligovsky. From other and very authoritative sources (not Lithuanian), I learn that Poland has, for the last year, been pouring money and supplies into Vilna in order to feed the people, to polonize the town, and to start the great university, formerly one of the glories of Lithuania. The majority of the inhabitants of Vilna are neither Polish nor Lithuanian, but Jewish and White Russian ; and the only way to ascertain their views would be by holding a plebiscite under the League of Nations. The Poles will not agree, however, to such an election being held ; and the elections which they held in January, 1922, in the presence of a large Polish army, can hardly be regarded as conclusive. The result of these elections was the formation of a very pro-Polish assembly, which is ready to hand over Vilna to Poland or to approve of a federation with Poland.[1] With the independent republic of Lithuania, the capital of which is Kovno, this assembly will have nothing, however, to do.

Such are the main facts of the Vilna controversy, as I ascertained them in Vilna itself. The problem of that city reminded me somewhat of the problem of Belfast, despite the fact that both Poles and Lithuanians are Catholics. The Poles and polonized Lithuanians of Vilna say : " Our fathers made this great and prosperous city of the Polish State. We will continue to belong to that State. We have no desire to join our fortunes to a little upstart Lithuanian republic, run largely by peasants who want to get our money, tax our industries, confiscate our land, and make our children learn an obscure language only spoken by about a million people in the entire world and without any literature whatsoever."

The Lithuanians say : " This city was undeniably part of the ancient Lithuania, and must belong to the present republic of Lithuania because it is the administrative, intellectual, and railway centre of our country, and is in

[1] The Vilna territory has since been formally annexed to Poland.

fact the only large city in Lithuania. Besides, it was taken from us, most dishonestly, by a raid secretly engineered by the Warsaw Government, just as Korfanti's raid into Upper Silesia was afterwards engineered. We have no intention whatever of suppressing the Polish language in Vilna or anywhere in Lithuania, as is shown by the fact that at the present moment, despite the bitter feeling aroused against Poland by the Zeligovsky raid and which never existed before, a Polish daily newspaper is printed in Kovno. We are ready to give the Poles in Lithuanian territory every safeguard they want for their language, their schools, and their culture."

This unfortunate controversy between two Catholic peoples who were long allied to one another, is embittered by the fact that all the gentry in Lithuania is Polish or Polophile. Even the landlords who are of Lithuanian descent have no sympathy with the Lithuanian national movement, not only because they themselves have lost their native language and have insensibly come to regard the people who speak it as "low class," but also because they are in danger of losing their estates as well. For the Lithuanian republic, being based primarily on the peasants, has had to take notice of that imperious demand on the part of the peasants for more land, which has gradually changed the whole face of every modern country in Eastern Europe. Though they have not altered their form of government, Bulgaria and Rumania have yielded to this demand as much almost as Esthonia and Latvia; and though Poland, with its strong landlord class, is so far an exception, the Polish Agrarian Law—not yet put into execution, however—is, in some parts, pretty hard on the landed gentry. The Lithuanian nobles do not, however, see the Lithuanian Land Law as part of an almost universal movement, partly due to economic necessity. They only see in it a Bolshevist movement—which it is not—engineered by penniless agitators who have formed a Government at Kovno, who are promoting

race hatred, and class hatred, and cupidity among the poorer peasants for ignoble reasons of their own, and who wish deliberately to ruin them because of their wealth and their Polish culture. The result is that the Lithuanian landlords have become intensely Polish in their sympathies. They see, across the border, a safety and a stability which really does not exist there any more than it does anywhere else in Eastern Europe to-day, and I am afraid that in some cases they carry on correspondence with Poles who desire nothing less than the annexation of all Lithuania. This naturally makes the Lithuanians inclined to sweep the landlords out of the country altogether. The distrust on one side increases the distrust on the other side, and the situation is getting worse instead of better.

Personally I have a great sympathy for the Poles; but in their dealings with the Lithuanians they have not, I think, played their cards well. The Zeligovsky raid strengthened the Lithuanian national movement, and caused among the Lithuanians a bitterness against the Polès which did not exist before. Had the Poles, at the outset, acted towards Lithuania in a large and generous manner, that country would now, I am convinced, be as closely allied to Poland as Belgium is to France. They might have recognised Lithuania, *de facto* and *de jure*, before any other nation. They might have offered her Vilna, with a *beau geste*, before she had even asked for it. They might have helped her in all her difficulties. Had they done so in time, the nationalist movement which is so strong in Lithuania at present would have been as little dangerous to Warsaw as the nationalist movement in Wales is to London. The ablest foreign diplomatist who has made a speciality of the Lithuanian question tells me that it was the Zeligovsky raid that really made the Lithuanian national movement a success. Previous to that unfortunate adventure, a large section of the Lithuanians had (he says) no grudge whatever against the Poles.

The Polish point of view, as it was explained to me over and over again by authoritative representatives of Warsaw, is that Poland and Lithuania are practically one, to the same extent as England and Scotland are practically one; that the Government at Kovno only represents a small group of peasants; that unless Lithuania links her fate to Warsaw, she will inevitably fall under the sway of Germany; that it is foolish of the Kovno Government to make alliances with Latvia and Esthonia since those two countries are inevitably bound to be reconquered by the new, strong Russia which is certain to arise. All this may be true; but Poland would have got all she wanted by diplomacy, gentleness and liberality.

Lithuania is at present ruled by a Constituent Assembly (Seim) with 112 members, of whom 59 support the Government, while the non-opposition of other political groups makes a change of ministry unlikely. The strongest party is the "Christian Democrat Bloc," made up of 33 Christian Democrats, 15 members of the "Farmers' Union," and 11 members of the "Workers' Federation." The Lithuanian Catholic clergy are the backbone of the predominant party, and of the whole nationalist movement in Lithuania. This is owing to the fact that the Lithuanian-speaking priests are practically the only intellectuals in the native movement; during the last few years, however, they have been reinforced by Lithuanian professors from Russia and by well-educated Lithuanians, of peasant origin, from the United States of America. The present Minister for Foreign Affairs is a priest,[1] and his predecessor was also a priest; while Fr. Krupavich, the chairman of the above-mentioned *bloc* and the leader of the Christian Democrat Party, is also a priest. Poles, foreign observers, and even some foreign

[1] Since these lines were written new elections, which have somewhat altered the composition of the different Parties and of the Cabinet, have been held. The present Premier and Foreign Minister is Mr. Ernest Galvanauskas. The distribution of seats is as follows:—Christian Democrats, 38; Farmers' Union, 19; Social Democrats, 11; Workers' Federation, 5; Jews, 3; Poles, 2.

priests, have frequently told me that the attachment of the Lithuanian clergy to politics injures their legitimate work; but of this I can say nothing from my own knowledge. I have been profoundly impressed, however, by the evidences of deep religious faith which met me at every turn in Lithuania. Most of the cemeteries in the country districts are full of wooden crosses, sometimes thirty or forty feet high, and visible for many miles; while similar crosses are to be met with every few miles along the roads and in front of the houses. The military posts on the frontier look more like wayside chapels than like barracks, owing to the profusion of pious pictures on the walls; and the big, kindly, gentle-voiced soldiers in those military posts were by far the most courteous and considerate officials of their class whom I ever met in the Baltic lands.

The following account of Lithuania's intellectual and economic position is compiled from a book, *Lithuania, Past and Present*, which has just been published by Messrs. Fisher Unwin. It is from the pen of Mr. E. J. Harrison, one of the few Englishmen who have studied the Lithuanian question and the Lithuanian language. According to this authority, Lithuania finds her exchange in a sounder position than that of any other Baltic State or of Poland owing to the fact that, on obtaining her independence, she retained the Ost currency issued by the German Treasury during the war for circulation in the occupied territory. In their natural eagerness to exercise all the attributes of independent nationhood, the other republics lost no time in issuing their own paper currency; but Lithuania refrained from doing so till she should be in a position to introduce her own coinage with an adequate gold guarantee behind it. The result was that, whereas Poland, Latvia and Esthonia are to-day saddled with vast depreciated note issues whereof the unit stands in every case at four figures to the pound sterling and continues to decline, the Lithuanian "aukstinas" or mark

remained comparatively stable until the recent slump in the German mark set in, its fluctuations being almost exactly determined by those of the German mark proper. The recent collapse of the mark has, therefore, reacted unfavourably on the economic situation in Lithuania and may indeed be said to have imposed upon the Lithuanian people a share of the German reparations. The new Lithuanian Government, however, is alive to the situation thus created; and its latest declaration on the subject foreshadows the liquidation of the Ost currency.[1]

As for its agricultural resources Lithuania claims about twenty-three million odd acres, but it administers at present about thirteen millions. The country for the most part is level and possesses a fertile soil. The staple crops are rye, wheat, barley, oats, peas, potatoes and flax. The crop yields during 1920 for the above-mentioned area were :—

Rye	20,000,000	bushels.
Wheat	2,760,000	,,
Barley	6,900,000	,,
Oats	17,500,000	,,
Peas	2,200,000	,,
Potatoes ..	36,800,000	,,
Flaxseed ..	1,400,000	,,
Flax	40,000	tons.

During 1921 the Lithuanian exports totalled 631,964,118 marks in value. The biggest individual items are : Eggs, 75,762,185 in number, valued at 147,580,576 marks; timber of all kinds, 195,610,618 marks; flaxseed and tow, 184,885,016 marks; pig bristles, 21,933,102 marks; and hides, 20,393,953 marks. In percentages timber represented 32 per cent.; flax about 30 per cent.; eggs and chickens, 25 per cent.; livestock, 9·1 per cent.; and rags, 1 per cent. Of these exports

[1] It has since introduced a national gold-guaranteed currency, with the *litas* as unit.

Germany took 51·3 per cent. and England 27·1 per cent.—chiefly eggs.

With regard to the intellectual potentialities of the Lithuanian people, Mr. Harrison, in his chapter on Language and Literature, has much that is interesting to say about the resemblance which this oldest of all European tongues bears to Sanscrit. He writes :—

Judging from the remarkable progress made by the literary language during only about thirty-five years of the renascence movement, in spite of the persecution to which it was formerly subjected by Russia, it is not unreasonable to expect that a few decades from now, if its evolution proceeds at the same rate, it will take a very high place among civilised tongues by virtue of its antiquity, its richness and purity, and its philological value. Before becoming an object of study by the Lithuanian intellectuals themselves, the popular poetry of the country since the second half of the 16th century had begun to attract the attention of eminent German writers Philippe Ruhig inaugurated the movement by reproducing in his essay on the language, entitled *Betrachtungen der Litauischen Sprache* (Königsberg, 1745), three Lithuanian songs, with favourable comment. This work evoked in Germany powerful interest in Lithuanian popular poetry. . . . The gems of popular literature are unquestionably the *dainos*, or songs. We have seen how largely song bulks in the life of almost every Lithuanian ; analogously he distinguishes in his songs almost as many forms, shades, and varieties as there are in life itself. Juska's dictionary gives more than thirty expressions for what in English we should be content to render through the single verb " to sing." . . . Salkauskis says of the *dainos* : " They certainly constitute the richest efflorescence of Lithuanian lyricism ; remarkable above all are those which owe their inspiration to family life. The family was always the most solid basis of Lithuanian national existence, the vitality of which is due in great measure to the purity of morals which is maintained at the domestic hearth ; one can realise this in those *dainos* in which the family finds the faithful expression of its joys and of its daily vicissitudes, and in which the problem of love is set and then solved with a breadth and depth of view which does not fail to astonish. . . . Whatever the subject-matter of the *dainos*, one is struck by the absence of grossness."

Among the better known Lithuanian writers may be mentioned Adam Mickiewicz (1798-1845), professor of the

Academy of Lausanne. It is true that Mickiewicz wrote in Polish, but the inspiration and subject-matter of his verse are almost exclusively Lithuanian. The result of the tyrannical Tsarist prohibition of Lithuanian books from 1864 to 1904 was to drive Lithuanian literary effort abroad, chiefly to Prussia and America. In Prussian Lithuania Tilsit was the principal centre of Lithuania's intellectual life. Here were printed books, reviews, journals, etc., which were smuggled over the border into Lithuania Major. In these circumstances the language found the most favourable conditions for development in Lithuania Minor, where writers like Kursaitis, Jacobi, Vidunas, Sauerwein and others flourished. Of these, Vidunas is justly regarded as one of the most distinguished of all living Lithuanian scholars, poets and philosophers. He is also famous as a dramatist. Immediately before the war tremendous literary activity was displayed throughout Lithuania. Among lyrical poets should be mentioned Putinas, Gira, Gustaitis, Vaitkus; among epic poets Puida, Seinius, Kreve; among dramatists, besides Vidunas, Vargsas, Keturakis, and others. The authoresses Ragana, Bite, Lazdina and Peleda have written admirable novels. Prominent among modern historians are Daukantas, Mathieu Valancius and Maironis.

To-day in the free Republic of Lithuania all branches of cultural activity are being pursued with tremendous eagerness. Vilna, with its university, having been filched from Lithuania by the Poles, a university was recently opened at Kovno, and here a serious effort will be made to live up to the glorious traditions of the more ancient seat of Lithuanian learning. Even in pre-war days the percentage of illiteracy in Lithuania was lower than in any other part of Russia, including Poland, and the thirst for knowledge among the peasant masses was most strongly marked. These characteristics are even more pronounced to-day. Peasant parents are not content with giving their children a middle-school education, they make

desperate efforts to send them to the university. The same spirit prevails in all classes of society, and is the surest guarantee for the nation's intellectual future.

One of the most typical Lithuanians now alive is Alexander Stulginsky, acting President of the Republic. In 1908, while a young man of about twenty, he went from his native diocese of Samogitia to Innsbruck in order to study theology; for it was then his intention to enter the Church, which gets as large a percentage of the best young Lithuanians as it does of the best young Irishmen. During the one year he spent in Tyrol, Stulginsky made great progress not only with his theological studies but also with Sociology, and he also mastered, incidentally, Polish and German. At the end of that year he discovered, however, that he had no vocation for the priesthood. He then went to Halle, where he spent three years studying agriculture and where he finally won a diploma which testified to a thorough knowledge not only of rural economics but also of labour questions, housing conditions, the laws governing the disposal of produce, economic production, climatic influences, etc. In 1912 he settled down in Vilna, and there threw himself into every branch of social service where his learning could be of assistance to his countrymen.

When the war broke out, Lithuania was quickly overrun by the German armies; whereupon the representatives of the Lithuanian people met and presented the Kaiser with a demand for independence. For political and military reasons the Kaiser was inclined to grant this demand in appearance while making Lithuania in practice a vassal state; and the same thing happened later on in the case of the other Baltic States and of Poland; but Germany's collapse brought all negotiations on this subject to an end, and left all these new countries independent. In 1918 the first Lithuanian Cabinet was formed, with Stulginsky as Minister of Agriculture; and on May 1st, 1920, the Lithuanian Council came into

existence with Stulginsky as its chairman. Difficulties of various kinds have prevented the election of a President, so that Stulginsky has been up to the present Acting President; and he has certainly done his work well, for all the trouble which Lithuania has had during that time has come from without. Inside the people are united. So far there has been no wholesale confiscation of property such as we have seen in all the other Baltic States. There have been no murders, shootings and disorders. The little Lithuanian army is well disciplined and entirely under the control of its officers and of the Government. There is perfect religious freedom; and if the enormous Russian Church which the late Tzar built in Kovno is now used for Catholic worship, there is no confiscation in that; for the congregation used to be almost exclusively military, and the Russian soldiers who filled it when I was first in the Baltic States are now replaced by the Catholic soldiers of the young republic. The Lithuanians have not even removed from its walls the great granite slab which asserts that Nicholas II raised that cathedral to the glory of God.

I shall here conclude these articles on the Baltic States; but I need hardly warn the reader that the interesting political experiment in self-government with which these articles deal is not yet concluded. I would like to be able to announce definitely that the self-determination theory as put in practice throughout all Western Europe since 1918 has proved a success; but no one can say that until things settle down. Ninety-nine per cent. of the foreigners who are interested commercially in the new republics maintain that the change has been for the worse. They point to the multiplication of frontiers and of officials, to the greatly increased difficulty about passports, and exchange, and business transactions. Some of them have had their clothes and money seized under laws which prohibit anyone taking more than three suits of clothes and six pounds sterling out of the new republics; and, when they tried to get their property back they had to

fill innumerable forms in almost unknown languages and spend weeks calling at a whole series of Government offices where the employees were too patriotic to speak any tongue but their own, though as a matter of fact they were all excellent linguists.

Let me allow an English business man of strong liberal sympathies to speak his mind on this subject :—

Some of the new republics of Eastern Europe are afflicted by a Nationalism-gone-mad, by a bureaucracy far worse than the bureaucracy it replaced, and even by a militarism which threatens to reproduce over a wide area all the evils of the old Balkan States. Thanks to the revival of the small nationalities, there are now more men under arms in Europe than there were before the beginning of the war which was to end war, and the new militarists are quite as offensive as the old. England and France presented Poland with a " corridor " to the sea at Danzig, and Poland has shown her gratitude by making every foreign traveller who crosses this frontier pay a tax of about one pound sterling for the privilege.[1] If the traveller has omitted to get his *visé*, he is ordered out of the train by truculent officers with clanking swords, and made to find his way back, as best he can, to Berlin or Riga. The troubles of the foreign business man are enough to drive him mad. He is taxed to an extent which makes English taxation ludicrously light, and he never knows when some new tax will not be suddenly imposed on him. If he orders goods on which he thinks he can make a profit in spite of the heavy duty, he sometimes finds, when he goes to get these goods out of the Customs, that the duty has suddenly been tripled, with the result that he quite frequently renounces all claim to the consignment and leaves the Customs to auction it. If he wants to get out of the country he finds that he cannot, for no foreign merchant is allowed to leave until he can get a certificate testifying that he has paid up all the taxes and exactions which the Government has levied on him, and the total is sometimes more than he can pay. The Customs officials are so rapacious that they have been known to demand heavy duties even on the food and clothing sent by English and American philanthropists for free distribution among the poor ; and when these duties were pretermitted after a long correspondence and the invocation of consular assistance, the labour of filling up innumerable forms and complying with endless regula-

[1] The tax has since been reduced to one shilling, and abolished entirely for certain through trains.

tions sometimes left the agent of the foreign philanthropist fit for nothing but a nursing-home. Yet the Governments whose employees behave towards foreigners in this way are loud in their demands for loans and trade credits, though such assistance would be very unlikely to get any further than the group of politicians at the threshold. Most of these politicians are corrupt, and some of them engage surreptitiously in trade while holding important governmental positions. A well-known English firm once sent to a city in Eastern Europe a representative who brought with him a large quantity of goods. When that representative forwarded his first report on business conditions, he received from his head office a telegram which speaks for itself: "Sell or destroy goods. Close office. Wind up business. Come home at once."

Everything that was bad in the Hapsburg and Romanov Empires is worse in the Succession States. Take the Press, to which the new republics allow far less latitude than did pre-war Vienna and Petrograd, which tolerated a great deal of newspaper criticism, while the new republics allow none. Some of these young Governments promptly expel a correspondent who criticises them, and refuse him a *visé* if he ever wants to return, their attitude in this particular being exactly the same as that of Moscow to-day. Sometimes the Secret Service, called into existence throughout the new States by a legitimate fear of Bolshevism, seems to have become more powerful than the Government which it is supposed to serve: I know of one case where a foreign journalist was imprisoned by the Secret Service without the local Minister for Foreign Affairs being informed of the fact. This journalist eventually owed his escape to the fact that a letter he had thrown out of the window of his cell happened by the merest chance to find its way to his consul.

Ten years ago there were men who believed that the world would be saved by militarism and imperialism, which would lead to the development of backward nations and to the establishment of a modern *pax Romana* throughout the earth. Others pinned their faith to Democracy. Others to the rule of the Proletariat. Others to freedom and self-determination for every nationality. . . . Every one of these beliefs has been impaired or shattered; and probably the only thinkers who remain where they were before the Great War are those Christians who maintain that our home is not here, that every form of Government is more or less bad, and that no political prescription will ever cure human ills.

This, I regret to say, is the view of many western

business men who have endeavoured to trade with some of the new republics in Eastern Europe. But of course there is another side to the question. The native says: "Your comparison of our country before the war, when it was part of a great Empire, and since the war, when it has been independent, is unfair, because the war has shattered everything. We are much better independent than we would have been had we remained in our former dependent condition. Compare our busy country fairs and our prosperous peasantry with the desolate market-places and starving *muzhiks* of Russia. Allowance should be made for the general disorganization and unsettlement produced by the war, for the inexperience of our statesmen, for the disturbing vicinity of Russia, which forces us to keep up an army and a Secret Service which we detest, for the chaotic state of our currency, and for the fluctuations in the exchange. Four years ago we had no money in our treasury and hardly any rolling-stock on our railways; our Cabinet Ministers were farmers, professors and journalists; our Customhouse officials were ex-clerks and ex-schoolmasters. The foreign merchants who came to trade with us seemed intent only on benefiting by the exchange in order to denude us of our machinery, our books, pictures, timber, flax and furs. Many of these merchants were demobilised officers with no commercial honesty; and we had to take stern measures to save ourselves from being stripped by them. If those measures sometimes caused inconvenience and suffering to legitimate traders, we cannot be blamed for that. Nor can we be blamed for the occasional ruthlessness of our police and our soldiers. We have on our border a great Communist State, which is always ready to carry out amongst our people a subversive propaganda; and if we permitted such of our people as have been misled by this propaganda to arm and equip themselves, we would abdicate all the functions of Government and lose our national independence. But this condition of preparedness, suspicion and

rigor is abnormal and temporary, being due to the abnormal and temporary conditions of the present day.

"The foreign critics of our new republics are too impatient. They expect us to cure ourselves in a day of evils which are the result of foreign oppression extending over centuries; but they need only look back at past history to realise how unfair this expectation is. Speaking in London on June 27, 1922, Mr. Taft was very hard on the new nations called into existence by the war. 'There was a theory abroad,' he said, 'among those who had not been charged with responsibility of government, that if they could only get a constitution, if they could only get a machine, they had freedom, they had successful self-government. There was nothing so far from the fact. If they gave a backward people too much in the way of self-government, all at once, without a self-restraint, without a sense of responsibility, without an obligation to regard the rights of the minority, all of which were essential to successful popular government, then they were likely to produce a spirit of anarchy, they were likely to put an instrument in their hands with which they would injure themselves.'

"Yet the history of the original United States for some years after their independence was acknowledged by England was quite as unpromising as the history of the Baltic republics, the Austrian Succession States, and Ireland is today. Very little regard was paid to the rights of the "Tory" minority which had been opposed to separation, and for six years there were thirteen separate governments in New England. These governments quarrelled with one another, set up hostile tariffs against one another, and actually fought over boundary lines. There were serious disputes between New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut over their respective frontiers; and there were similar disputes between Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania. There was open defiance of the Courts. Shea's rebellion in Massachusetts once forced the Supreme Court

to adjourn and an attempt was made by the rebels to capture the Government arsenal at Springfield. Finally things got so bad that a Convention was called with the object of amending the articles of the confederation and a new constitution was drawn up since it was found that the old one would not work. The opponents of this constitution claimed that those who drew it up had exceeded their powers ; and it proved very difficult to get a majority of the States to approve of this constitution. New York did not come in till after nine other States had done so ; while South Carolina and Delaware stayed out months after the constitution had been adopted and the first congress had assembled. Patrick Henry, the great republican orator, never did accept the constitution, and always fought it. Samuel Adams also opposed the constitution, and only ceased opposing it at the solicitation of a delegation of labourers headed by the famous Paul Revere. In the course of these disputes over the constitution there were two pitched battles fought at Albany, men were killed and wounded, and a copy of the constitution was publicly burned ; but finally commonsense prevailed, and the constitution was generally adopted, though it was not until the time of the Civil War, in 1860, that the Union outlined in that document could be regarded as solidly established.

" Till that time the statesmen and the intellectuals of Great Britain, and even of France, were mostly very dubious of the American experiment : a whole book could be filled with their pessimistic prophecies. Yet the Americans began their experiment in a new continent, free from all external menace or pressure, which is more than can be said of any state called into existence by the Great War. These states are not only in an unfortunate position geographically, but they still suffer from the efforts made by their foreign conquerors during centuries to break their unity and paralyse their power of corporate action. They also suffer from the existence in the modern world of an

impatient and highly organised Press which seizes on every sordid, ludicrous, and discreditable incident in their early struggles. Any reader can reconstruct for himself, in the modern journalistic manner, a day-by-day history of the United States at the beginning of the last century which would make the prospects of that country look as dark then as those of Lithuania or Ireland look to-day."

My own comment on this is that, taking all things into consideration, the recovery of the Baltic States under their independent Governments has been remarkably rapid, and the contrast between their crowded marts and the dead bazaars of Russia is extraordinarily striking.

What will the future bring forth? Time alone can answer that question. Will the new Russia be a conglomeration of practically independent states like the British Empire? Most Baltic statesmen say that there is very little chance of this in the immediate future owing to the backwardness of the average Russian, and that Finland, Latvia, Esthonia, and Lithuania are more likely to drift into the Scandinavian than into the Muscovite orbit. Everything depends on how Russia and Germany develop. The former may again become a predatory, half-barbaric empire. The latter may again become a danger to its neighbours owing to its commercial superiority and its terrible power of penetration. Most of the Balts declare emphatically that, whatever happens, they will never surrender their independence; but one of them, Mr. Sandemann, the Esthonian Minister of Finance, assured us that Esthonia would be glad to change places with the Irish Free State. "Our complete independence," he said, "between two such colossal and menacing notes of interrogation as Moscow and Berlin is less satisfactory than would be our semi-independence in such a community of free nations as the British Empire. The world is not the same as it was in the old days, when small peoples like the Swiss and the Dutch could win a proud and absolute independence such as even the greatest nations

cannot enjoy now. Things are much more complicated in these days owing to the interdependence of the nations, to the growth of economic laws which hardly operated at all in more primitive times, to the birth of a gigantic industrialism and of an intricate system of international finance, and to the power possessed by great and highly organised communities of crushing smaller peoples without striking a blow. A nominally independent nation may now be less free to develop on its own lines than a nominally dependent nation."

Few Ministers of the new republics speak so frankly. Most of them hold forth publicly in the William Tell or George Washington vein; but I know that some of those who do so are only paying lip-service to an exaggerated and antiquated nationalism, of which they seem to be afraid. May it not be that we are on the eve of a great re-adjustment in international relations which will lead to a veritable United States of Europe? The fall of the Roman Empire must have seemed the end of all things to the cultured Romans who witnessed it. To many Englishmen the revolt of New England must have sounded like the death-knell of the British Empire. The break-up of Russia and Austria, the establishment of a Bolshevik Government at Moscow and the present chaos in Eastern Europe do seem to many of us the beginning of a general collapse. But the fall of Rome led to the rise of political systems which have produced wonderful results; and the loss by England of her American Colonies led ultimately to the formation on the one hand of that extraordinary collection of Transatlantic States which have their federal capital at Washington, and on the other hand of that still more extraordinary collection of widely-separated commonwealths which acknowledge London as their common metropolis. The disjointed fragments of the Austrian Empire are now coming together on a different basis of trade agreements and economic necessity, and the disjointed fragments of the Russian Empire are also coming

together in the same way. Despite all the bickering that goes on, there are more and closer treaties between Russia and the republics which have broken off from her than between Russia and other countries. The Baltic States may form a link instead of a barrier between a Slavonic group of nations on the one side and a Teutonic group on the other; while Ireland may form a link instead of a barrier between the British group and the American group. Even inside Russia herself there are now half-a-dozen different republics, some of them Communist and absolutely dominated by Moscow, one of them—the Far Eastern Republic—non-Communist and only dependent on Moscow because of Japanese military aggression on the Pacific Coast.

Is it not possible that a grand system of world reconstruction may result from all this apparent chaos—a system in which every nationality, no matter how small, will be free to develop on its own lines and in which the great and important force of patriotism will be utilised for the common good of mankind as the force of family affection is now utilised for the maintenance of States? As family affection has been made to fit in with local patriotism, so will loyalty to one's country be made to fit in with loyalty to the general interests, first, of a confederacy, and ultimately of all mankind. There will be no "imperial races," no "outer breeds without the Law," no predatory Empires aiming at military triumphs which will only impoverish them, at territorial conquests which will make them weak, at the crushing of subject nations who can never be crushed, and at financial indemnities which will turn to dust and ashes in their hands. If the Great War leads to this result, it will have done more good than evil.

FRANCIS MCCULLAGH.

SOME THOUGHTS ON AN IRISH LITERARY LANGUAGE

BY GUSTAV LEHMACHER, S.J.

IT is many years ago now since I saw in an Irish periodical the hope expressed that foreigners would one day throng to a free Ireland to exchange thoughts with the native Gaels in their own Gaelic tongue. As a foreigner who has made an honest effort to learn Irish—not merely the old, but the modern language—perhaps I may be permitted to make a few remarks on what I consider the chief obstacles to the realisation of that hope.

Vocabulary, structure of sentence, mutation of initial consonants and phonetics are obvious difficulties in the way of the foreign learner of Irish. There are, however, means of overcoming all these, and as a matter of fact they can be overcome by a diligent student within a reasonable time. The real difficulty lies in the neglected condition of the modern language. The days of the old *Filidh*, who knew so well how to distinguish between *Ceart* and *Canamhaint*, are unfortunately past. The magnificently developed literary language sank with them into the grave. What remains is a series of dialects, differing widely in pronunciation and considerably in grammar, and all to a greater or less degree uncultivated.

The foreigner who wishes to learn Irish, at any rate in the early stages of his study, has no interest whatsoever in dialects. What he wants is to learn *the* Irish language, not this or that particular dialect of the same. If a German, he is accustomed to draw a sharp distinction between literary German and the German of the dialects; if a Frenchman, he distinguishes between French and *patois*; if an Englishman, he knows the difference between

correct and incorrect English. Then suddenly he is brought face to face with the fact that nowadays a literary Irish language does not exist, that learned Irishmen must take their language from the farmers and fishers of the sea-coast, that every one must go off and discover a Ghaedhealg féin (a Ghaedhilig féin, a Ghaedhilge féin, a Ghaodhluinn féin, as the case may be), that there is no question of a language which imposes itself on all and is an exemplar which all must follow. A cultivated language such as Ireland possessed in the olden days is gone, crushed and shattered like so much else by the brute force of the stranger. What is more important is that Ireland, to foreign eyes at least, is making no effort to restore it.

It is obviously impossible that this state of affairs should continue. *Gan teanga gan tír.* No doubt the dialects have done the country the tremendous service of keeping the tradition of the language alive. Certainly they conceal some rich treasures, survivals from the deep intellectual life of the older Ireland. Still, and indeed from the very fact of their variety, they are not in a position to offer what in these days is rightly demanded of a language. May a serious hope be entertained that they will hold their position against English, a highly developed language spoken by some 150 million people, and make their influence felt not only at home but abroad ? Can a style be constructed on the basis of these dialects capable of expressing the deepest thoughts and feelings of every section of the people ? It may be contended that the language is the same in all the dialects, that the pronunciation alone is different. As a matter of fact the dialects have nothing in common but the orthography (and that not in any absolute degree). To write *búăli*, *bwelĭgí* and *búalĭg*,[1] *aran* and *rawn* with the same letters does not improve matters much. Ask any unprejudiced person if the same sentences given in phonetic script by

[1] Cf. Henebry : *Sounds of Munster Irish*, p. 59.

Quiggin, Finck and Henebry from the dialects of Donegal, Aran and the Déisi connote a similarity of language! It is said, of course, that the speakers of one have no difficulty in understanding the speakers of another dialect. Quiggin, in his introduction to *A Dialect of Donegal*, has a different story to tell. He relates there how his Connacht dialect helped but little in the northern county, how indeed the inhabitants of Donegal are largely excluded from the influence of the Gaelic League owing to their strong peculiarities of speech and pronunciation. The dialect of the Isle of Man became isolated and died. The Gaelic of the Highlands, which three centuries ago enjoyed the the same literary language as the mother-tongue in Ireland, is dying. In Brittany, as in Ireland, differences of dialect make it difficult for speakers of Breton to understand one another, and leave the language but too easy a prey to the ever-increasing ravages of French. There is crying need for unity if the surviving remnants of the great Celtic languages are not to disappear beneath the flood. A unified language in vocabulary, form and pronunciation must be created in Ireland. If this were once forthcoming, it would not be so hard to rectify the orthography, at least to such an extent that the same letter or the same group of letters would, when in the same position, always have the same phonetic value (*e.g.*, *amh* always *au* in accented syllable, *ú* in unaccented, and *av* in final syllable). The language at present lacks this advantage. Still it is absolutely necessary if the important writers are to exert their full influence on the people.

To whom shall the creation of this unified language be entrusted? The native speakers have the great merit of having kept the language alive. They cannot, however, save it. That must be done by educated speakers of the language, particularly by those to whom Old and Middle Irish are familiar. With them lies the task of advancing the language to such an extent that it may become a vehicle for the expression of every idea and every thought

which the nation of to-day requires, not an adornment of some sleepy fairyland which, in these prosaic times, the rough hand of reality so easily and so ruthlessly shatters. Here, of course, the first thing needed is a fixed and generally accepted plan. There is no use in adopting a system which the majority of Irishmen will reject. It would, I think, be a valuable service to the country if Dáil Eireann, with the help of experts in the language, were to outline a scheme which would find general acceptance. That done the foundations would have been laid. The execution of the plan could be entrusted by the Dáil to a small commission with extensive powers, or perhaps, better still, to one man of known ability and will-power—a language dictator. The proposal may smack very much of the *ancien régime*; but it is not, I think, quite as undemocratic as it seems. A moment's reflection on some peculiarities of human nature will show who is likely to be the real tyrant and who the real sufferer. The unhappy dictator will be despised in the Gaeltacht, reviled in the colleges, abused at public gatherings, attacked in the Dáil, caricatured in the newspapers, loftily refuted in university lectures. But if he has good sense, courage and perseverance he will do a noble day's work for the language and for Ireland.

The ideal solution of the problem would, of course, be the appearance of a literary genius writing in Irish. Panini's influence on Sanscrit, Cicero's on Latin, Dante's on Italian, Luther's on German, Shakespeare's on English are well known. But literary geniuses are not made to order, and until one appears we must only try to do what we can without him.

What lines are to be followed in the formation of the new literary language? The Flemings, in their efforts to evolve a literary language from the medley of Flemish dialects, had a unified and fully developed Dutch to fall back on. Such an advantage is denied to Ireland. One suggestion, which makes a particular appeal because of

the ease with which it could be carried out, would be to take the dialect of Aran and make it the standard language for the whole country. This dialect, all things considered, stands perhaps nearer to Old Irish than any other. Gaels of Munster and Leinster, as well as those of Ulster, would have little difficulty in learning it. For continental students it has the advantage of having been thoroughly studied by Finck (*Die Araner Mundart*, Marburg, 1899), and, therefore, of being easily mastered. Connacht, too, standing midway between the dry sharp sounds of Ulster and the melodious but unpractical (because so feebly represented by the orthography) Munster sounds, deserves first consideration when there is question of elevating any dialect into the standard language for Ireland. Once a dialect is so chosen it will of course be developed by the learned with but little regard for its fate in its native home.

Another possibility would be that which seems to have been in O'Growney's mind when fixing phonetic equivalents for Irish words in his "Simple Lessons." Following this system, particular stress would be laid on the written language, which would first of all be cleansed of all historically unjustified additions. A new literary language would then be formed by judicious blending of the dialects. Preference would, in every case, be given to the dialect which renders the sound or sound-group in the most consistent way. Thus the Ulster dialects have the most regular accent and render an accented *omh* always as *ó*. The West Clare dialect gives a palatal *s* in *all* cases an *sh* sound. And so on for the rest. Next to regularity the antiquity of any particular form would be the most important consideration. It may be noted that the influence of dialect has been largely felt in the formation of many literary languages, as, for example, in modern High German and its literary predecessors.

I venture to add a third suggestion which will appeal at any rate to readers of the old literature and to foreign

scholars in particular. Would it be possible to go back both in style and pronunciation to Early Middle Irish ? Here one would have from the very beginning a much closer conformity between the written and the spoken language. One would have, too, the starting point for most of the modern dialects. In general, no dialect would have more to renounce than another. It might even be possible to get Scotland to adopt this system and thus bring it once again within the Irish literary sphere of influence. The language could, I think, be restored to a very large degree by a diligent study of the old literature, especially of the poetry. Mediaeval grammatical tracts, such as those being published for some years past by Dr. Bergin in *Eriu*, would give considerable help. As a matter of fact, the later poems, those for example published by Professor Tomás O Raithile in *Dánta Grádha* require, if they are to be relished properly, a pronunciation agreeing very closely with the written language.

There does not seem to be any insuperable difficulty in the way of reconstructing the old literary language, such as was spoken in a greater or less degree before the collapse of Ireland's wonderful literary tradition. How much Ireland's place among the nations owes to her old literature need not be insisted on. It would be an honourable task for Irish scholars to restore, as far as possible, the sounds of that language and to fix satisfactory rules for its pronunciation. It will be admitted that the manner in which Old and Middle Irish are now read is simply intolerable. Ten persons from ten different countries reading Old or Middle Irish aloud would give a pretty fair idea of the confusion of tongues which followed Babel. Here, too, it may be suggested that in the matter of publishing Irish texts the example of Scandinavian editors should be followed. These make it a rule to normalise the orthography of their texts so that the reader's task is rendered more easy and more pleasant. In Ireland, on the other hand, every divergence from

normal forms, even where obviously due to the negligence of the scribe, is diligently copied. The worry and discouragement this causes students and the consequent injury to the language should not be minimised.

Once the form of the new literary language is fixed, it must, of course, be used in church, school, public assemblies, public documents, etc. The dialects may continue to live as heretofore, but they should not be allowed to interfere unnecessarily with the development of the literary language. Occurrences such as marked the creation of a literary language in modern Greece, need not repeat themselves in Ireland. The Greek scholars, knowing well that the fame of their country depended on its past, chose a rather ancient form for the new written language. The spoken language, though fairly unified, was largely corrupted by Turkish and other influences. The translation of the New Testament into modern Greek led to a rebellion of the students in 1902. In Ireland the conditions are of course entirely different. For most Irishmen it is unfortunately not a question of changing from a dialect to a literary language, but from a foreign language to their own. It is thus largely a matter of indifference to them what forms they will have to master or what pronunciation they will have to adopt. The problem at any rate awaits solution, and solved it will have to be if Irish is to take its rightful place among the cultivated languages of the world.

COMMENTS ON THE FOREGOING ARTICLE

No. I—BY THE MOST REV. DR. SHEEHAN

THE hope of which Father Lehmacher speaks in his opening paragraph is still, I fear, a long way below the horizon-line. I wonder whether it has yet sent us even a refracted ray? Before I touch briefly on the means he suggests for bringing it into light, let me pay him the sincere tribute of my gratitude for his interest in the Gael, and add the remark that our confidence in the future would be much firmer, if we could win for our cause many new allies like him from among the natives of the soil.

He would have us take up the dialect of Aran and by new coinages, and by graftings from other dialects and the earlier language,

construct a literary speech under the fiat of a dictator. But the Aran dialect is not spoken over a very wide area; it is not adequately represented in Finck (how could it be?); and the islands are not easily accessible to language-pilgrims. A happier choice, if we are to follow his seeming preference for the Middle West, would be South Connacht. But what of his Dictator? I should think a Wizard or a Solomon would be better fitted for the task, or should we say a superhuman Conciliator? However we describe him, his work would necessarily lead to the extinction of all dialects but one, if even that one would be safe in his hands. Of course, I would agree that an organised effort should at once be made to compile a full dictionary of technical terms and expressions from Middle and Early Modern sources; but I would observe that, hidden away in the existing dialects, there are many words and phrases of equal, if not superior, suitability.

Irish survives in dialects, and the dialects are all in danger of perishing; every one of them holds, as I have suggested, linguistic treasure which we cannot afford to lose; and every one of them, and every scrap of every one of them, must be saved. The vitality of a dialect can be measured from the number of its unilinguals. Bilingualism which would make all our people speakers of English and Irish will infallibly lead to the destruction of the native language. A permanent bilingual population is possible only when it is wedged in between two great unilingual areas; and a bilingual population, I may remark, will probably produce nothing of literary value, since, as a rule, bilinguals speak neither of their two languages perfectly. In saving each dialect, therefore, we should try to enlarge its roll of unilinguals, and at the same time try to extend its area, so that it may spread to the neighbouring towns which at present with their large numbers of English speakers are its chief enemies. To do this and all that it entails, a great and unremitting national effort will be necessary. That effort must be carried on for many years, and will thoroughly test the grit of the Irishman; it will be the struggle of a people drugged with Anglicisation to escape the strangle-hold, to rouse itself from the death-spell, and beat a powerful and ubiquitous opponent.

I am not in complete agreement with Father Lehmacher on the divergence of the dialects; to the ear, no doubt, they differ widely, but not to the eye. Anyone who is deep in his own dialect has no difficulty, or very little, in reading matter produced in other dialects, provided it follow the ordinary, not the phonetic, spelling. But should we aim at a unified pronunciation? Not at present, I think. To preserve each dialect in full vigour, we must try to keep alive its phonetics as well as its idiom. Any tampering with the dialects in their present precarious condition would lead to their enfeeblement and destruction.

My ideal for the *near* future is to see Ireland as Irish-speaking as it is now English-speaking, with all the dialects flourishing, and all so widely known that intercourse between speakers even from widely separated districts would present no difficulty. I look forward confidently to a time when at some great celebration in Dublin one might hear at almost any point in the crowd such an exchange between a

Lagenian and, say, some Kerry ladies, as took place long ago between the Alexandrian and the gossips from Syracuse:—

Alex. παύσασθ', ὦ δύστανοι, ἀνάνυτα κωτίλλοισαι
τρυγόνες · ἐκκναισεῦντι πλατειάσδοισαι ἅπαντα.

Syr. μᾶ πόθεν ὤνθρωπος ; τί δὲ τίν, εἰ κωτίλαι εἰμές ;
πασάμενος ἐπίτασσε · Συρακοσίαις ἐπιτάσσεις :
. . . . . Πελοποννασιστὶ λαλεῦμες.
Δωρίσδεν δ' ἔξεστι, δοκῶ, τοῖς Δωριέσσι.

Father Lehmacher says that "the ideal solution of the problem would be the appearance of a literary genius writing in Irish." Has he not heard that the late Canon O'Leary, who worked so long and so devotedly for the language, has given us a translation of Don Quixote which is said to be an improvement on the original; that, in other works of his, he is supposed to have reached the level of Dante and Aeschylus; and that besides him we have two or three writers whose names have been coupled with those of the highest modern celebrities? If it became widely known that Father Lehmacher had refused to burn the prescribed pinch of incense before our literary idols, who could save him from an awful fate? It would be the fate which he marks out himself for the language dictator. But, seriously, he is quite correct in his implication. Though good work, and ever so much better work than many fancy, work for which we cannot but be grateful, has been done in Modern Irish during the last thirty years; though we now have several writers who are masters of a sound and flexible prose; it is still no detraction to say that no genius of the highest order has as yet appeared. When he does come, I do not think his work will consist in an attempt to resuscitate the dead things of paganism, but, if I may express my own dearest wish, to immortalise in literature the great Christian faith and fervour of the Irish heart.

M. SHEEHAN.

No. II—BY PROFESSOR OSBORN BERGIN, PH.D.

THE lack of a common standard of literary Irish has been a serious hindrance to the revival movement It affects learners and teachers, and all classes of writers who wish to make a national appeal. But while the evil is obvious, the cure is another matter. The suggestions made in Father Lehmacher's paper do not inspire much hope. The tiny group of scholars who are interested in Old and Middle Irish are far too modest to decree how men and women ought to speak in the twentieth century. And Dáil Eireann has more than enough controversial matter to tackle already. As for the proposed dictator, the benevolent despot—*ubi sapiens*? If some freak of nature should produce that paragon, he would soon find his energy crippled by our cheerful habit of disregarding official orders that do not meet with our approval.

And the Aran dialect? No northern or southern writer could be induced to abandon his own dialect for that of a remote western island whose inhabitants cannot themselves produce a literature.

I do not know whether the proposal to revive the style and pronunciation of Early Middle Irish is to be taken seriously. This would mean, not holding fast to an ancient tradition, as has been done by

learned castes in other lands, but suddenly putting back the clock a thousand years. There is no parallel to such a step, and not a single individual willing to take it, even if it were possible.

There might be some faint chance of using the Early Modern Irish of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the language of O'Donnell's *Colum Cille*, of Carswell, Keating and the books printed in Louvain. And in the early days of the Gaelic League there was some talk of adopting such a standard. But though the language of these writers is clear, beautiful and flexible, well worthy of study, the only modern writers who count feel instinctively that it would be affectation to write as if we were still in the seventeenth century. Scotland would certainly not come in. From experience as an examiner I know that easy passages from Keating and Carswell are quite obscure to good speakers of Scottish Gaelic. Most of the words are more or less familiar, but Highlanders have shed their inflexions to such an extent that one might as well put a page of Latin before a modern Italian. Where the gap is so wide it may be crossed by scholars, not by a nation.

Were a standard language in existence it would naturally draw upon the dialects to enrich its vocabulary and idiom, but I cannot think that an *artificial* blend of dialects would supply the desired medium of literary expression. It would be too grotesque, like a mixture of Lowland Scotch and Cockney English.

More than twenty years ago a brief attempt was made in the pages of *Fáinne an Lae* to produce a 'greatest common measure' dialect. I remember that if a southern contributor wrote *rugadar*, the editor, in deference to Connacht usage, would alter it to *rug siad*. But as few Connachtmen would buy the paper, the plan was soon dropped. Then, about the year 1904, circulars were issued by the Gaelic League inviting various scholars to join a proposed academy to direct and control the development of the language. Few whose names would carry weight appear to have accepted membership, and the academy has never met.

So far the problem has been to keep any kind of Gaelic alive. Now, after thirty years of propaganda, public opinion, the schools and the government are all on its side, yet the position of the spoken language is precarious in the extreme. If it is not saved in this generation it must disappear for ever. No one can foretell the result of a national effort, but this much is certain: if Gaelic lives and spreads, it will be in a new form. Languages change rapidly when they are taken over by fresh populations, especially when the new speakers far outnumber the old. A million people cannot adopt a language to which they were not born without breaking down the delicate phonetic system, simplifying the inflexions, and transforming the syntax. Already 'learner's Irish' has its *Lautverschiebung*; *mór* and *móir* both become *móar*; every sound is slightly wrong. The people of the Galldacht, so far from reviving the lost pronunciation of the tenth century, will simply do what doubless the Pre-Celtic inhabitants of Ireland did two thousand years ago. They will carry into the new language a good deal of their own sound system, vocabulary and idiom.

Possibly, if the Irish Government continues to issue documents in Gaelic without too much fluctuation of dialect, an official language

may be formed, to be used by some future literary genius as Luther used the language of the German chancelleries. But a common language must grow naturally. It cannot be made to order and suddenly imposed upon a nation.

Meanwhile our nearest approach to a standard is the dialect of West Munster. In morphology and idiom this is the nearest to the old literary standard. In the eighteenth century folktale and folksong flourished in all the provinces, but Munster supported in addition more than one active school of professional poets, who preserved in a new form much of the old technique and polish. In poetry the supremacy of the South is unquestioned. Towards the close of the nineteenth century it produced a number of vigorous prose writers. One of these, the late Canon O'Leary, wrote so much and so well that over half of Ireland his influence is paramount. Indeed it may be traced as far north as Donegal. No one with a feeling for style can say that the language of *Séadna* or *Aithris ar Chríost* is uncultivated. Are these and a score of other volumes, with most of our popular songs, to be suppressed, and years of work and thousands of pounds spent on turning them into Aran Irish or Middle Irish? It could not be done.

If the conventional orthography does not suit this dialect—it does not indeed suit any dialect—so much the worse for the orthography, for in a living language the spelling must be the servant, not the master. Paradoxical as it may seem, I often find the conservatism of Modern Irish orthography a hindrance to students of the older language. They cannot realise that *Conchobar* was not originally meant to represent the sound of *Cruchúr*, and they scarcely ever grasp the metrical system of Middle or Early Modern Irish. If a French boy were taught to write *amicus* and *habet* while pronouncing *ami* and *a*, it would be hard to get him to scan a line of Virgil.

OSBORN BERGIN.

No. III—BY REV. F. W. O'CONNELL, LITT.D.

I CAN deeply sympathise with Father Lehmacher and with students like him who discover to their mortification that there is no Irish language in the same sense that there is a French language; but the difficulty weighs upon the minds of most Irishmen who have a yearning for so distinctive a mark of nationality. Writing in Irish in a Gaelic weekly, some months ago, I tried to show that our attempts to produce a modern Irish literature had followed fairly closely the lines of Russian literary history. In each case there were the archaizers and modernizers: the writers who clung to the models of the older language, and those who boldly chose the tongue of the people, unpolished though the medium was. Also there were those who endeavoured to lay the foundations of a native literature by translating the masterpieces of other European nations. Unfortunately, the parallel failed in one important detail: the Russian writers had behind them millions of Russian speakers; whereas we have only a few thousands of Irish speakers. They could afford to wait for centuries, if necessary; we cannot afford to wait fifty years. Towards the conclusion of my article I said:—"What every writer at the present day is doing is spade-work, clearing the way for the writers of genius who are yet to come. The whole point is will the

language be saved ? (And by the language I mean the dialects, or some of the dialects, or even one of the dialects.) If it survives it is certain that a Gaelic Turgenieff and a Gaelic Gogol will arrive in time, though they have not been born yet. We have abandoned the archaic style, but a modern Irish prose has not yet been licked into shape. In the meantime we must plough ahead, coining terms, polishing, picking out the stones and hoeing the weeds from the field of Gaelic which has been neglected for three centuries."

I must confess that much that is being written in this transition period is galling in the extreme to anyone, native or foreign, who has an acquaintance with the literary Irish of an earlier period when Irish had a standard literary style. To render into a peasant patois one of Lamb's Essays is a proceeding bound to produce ludicrous effects. It reminds one of the sentence : " This Englishman's head is bald," which in Beche de Mer English becomes : " White fellow man coconut belong him no grass ! " A foreigner who knew no English except Cockney English might possibly see no humour in an attempt to turn the opening sentence of Keating's History into " Wen enny bloke gets the giddy idear of tricin' the 'istry of enny kentry, 'e oughter jolly well try to find aht the troof abaht the johnnies wot lives in the bloomin' plice " ; but, needless to say, anyone knowing standard English would refuse to call it a translation into " English." Some of the translations into the Irish dialects are little better than ludicrous. Local turns of expression are given the dignity of idioms, and slang words are put cheek by jowl with words having centuries of respectability behind them. I maintain that such things are inevitable during this transition period, which is a genuine transition period, always provided that the language in some form survives and really flourishes.

The encouragement of the spoken language should be our first care. The only Language Dictator we need is a man who will make it his business to see that in every Irish-speaking district (meaning of course bilingual district) Irish shall be petted and English discouraged. Parents will speak Irish to their children when Irish spells bread and butter, as English did in the past. Dáil Eireann can do much, too, for the language ; and it is all to the good that Irish, of whatever dialect, should be used in official documents, stamps, bank-notes, etc. ; but, unless there are steps taken in the near future to nourish the spoken word, no amount of official recognition of the printed word will produce a literary language. Irish will be dead, and the Government might as well carry on their official correspondence in French or in Sanscrit.

Given the survival of Irish in any form, a standard will evolve of its own accord. In an article which has since been incorporated with others in book-form, I have already given my reasons for holding that the West-Cork dialect will eventually become the standard literary language of the country ; as it is at present the dominant dialect. Aran Irish, however excellent in its own way, is hopelessly out of the running. If Irish were dead everywhere except in Aran, then I would say : " By all means, let us make Aran our standard for the whole country " ; but while Irish survives in West Munster the proposal to adopt the Aran dialect is not practical politics. As for Middle Irish, we could never hope to clothe its dry bones with living flesh : as well try to bring back the snows of yesteryear.

F. W. O'Connell.

No. IV—BY PROFESSOR THOMAS O'RAHILLY, M.A.

WITH most of the suggestions put forward by Father Lehmacher in his interesting article I regret to find myself in sharp disagreement.

"A unified language in vocabulary, form, and pronunciation must be created in Ireland." No, not "created." In other languages (the case of Modern Greek is quite exceptional) a "unified" literary standard has usually sprung from some one dialect which, owing to literary pre-eminence or geographical situation, attained a position of superiority over its rivals. In the case of Irish it is especially necessary that a standard language be left to evolve itself in the same natural way. The pressing problem of the hour is to keep alive and vigorous every one of the few dialects of Irish that have survived. Little good would a manufactured 'literary' language be if once the stream of *living* Irish, now attenuated to a few small rivulets, is allowed to dry up. Any one of us might create (on paper) a "unified" brand of Irish to suit his own fancy; but what use could such a lifeless curiosity be in the present precarious condition of the language? Nay, if tinkering of this kind be permissible in the interests of learners, why should we not take one step further and make the language easier still by abolishing initial mutations and unnecessary inflections, discarding the verb *is*, and so on? Why not, in short, create a kind of Irish Volapük? The answer is, that living languages, and more especially a language like Irish which just now can do little more than struggle for bare life, are not, and cannot be, juggled with in this fashion.

If Irish only lives, the question of a literary standard may be trusted to solve itself quickly and well. When, twenty-five or thirty years ago, Irish began to be cultivated once again as a literary medium, all the dialects started equal in the race. To-day it is obvious that this equality no longer holds. The Irish of West Munster has unmistakably forged ahead of the others, a fact for which the writings and influence of the late Canon O'Leary are mainly responsible. Galway Irish would seem to hold second place; the Irish of Donegal has been left a good way behind; while last of all comes the Irish of Clare, which, through some curious apathy on the part of Claremen, has turned to little or no account the advantages of its geographical situation. It is only a question of time until some one dialect will by general consent have earned the right to be regarded as the 'standard' one. Which dialect will thus eventually gain the upper hand is a matter of minor importance; what is much more important is that no dialect can assume the leadership until it has shown that it is naturally the best fitted to do so. (Personally, I may say, I have no strong prejudices in favour of or against any of our dialects; *nihil hibernum a me alienum puto*). Meanwhile it is consoling to reflect that, though dialectic differences in the Irish of to-day are often very strongly marked, these differences will tend gradually to become less acute, for it is well known that educated speakers find much less trouble in understanding other dialects than do illiterates.

"Would it be possible," asks Father Lehmacher, "to go back both in style and pronunciation to early Middle Irish?" The question is easily answered,—Just as impossible as it would be to go

back to the ' style and pronunciation ' of Layamon in English or of the *chansons de geste* in French. Whether we like the Irish of to-day or not (and I, for one, have no fault to find with it), we have got to realise the fact that we are living in the twentieth century, and we must accept the language as we actually find it or not at all. I know of no more effective way of crushing out whatever little vitality is still left in Irish than by attempting to shackle it with the bonds of even three (not to mention eight or nine!) centuries ago.

In short, the problem that awaits solution at the moment is, unfortunately, not the more or less academic question of " unifying " Irish, but the really serious one of whether Irish is to live or not. We have to-day little more than half-a-million native speakers of Irish in Ireland, and (a fact which detracts very considerably from the value of even this small number) all of them save a few thousand old people are speakers of English too. Indeed it is a moot point whether most of the half-million do not know English better than Irish; certain it is that many of our bilingual population speak English habitually and by preference. Another unfortunate fact that has to be faced is that the great bulk of these native speakers of Irish have kept the language, not through any love of it or through any feeling of patriotic pride, but almost solely because they could not help it. The task that confronts us is to keep Irish alive in those places where it still has roots, and from thence gradually to Irishize the rest of the country. A formidable task, truly; but yet I believe that a Free State Parliament, functioning in peace, can do much to accomplish it. Meanwhile it behoves writers of Irish to help to lessen one of the difficulties of the task by ranging themselves with the growing volume of opinion in favour of modern roman characters and a less antiquated spelling. In the interests both of learners and of native speakers it is imperative that we should throw overboard some of the lumber of dead consonants which has made Early-Modern Irish orthography " a forest of tropical luxuriance through which the tongue of the learner despairs of hewing a way." Such cumbrous spellings as *beirbhiughadh* (for *beiriú*), *imthighthe* (for *imithe*), *faghbháil* (for *fáil*), *urradhas* (for *urrús*), and *filidheacht* (for *filíocht*), would be a severe handicap on any language, and are simply impossible in the case of Irish if we really mean to give it a fair chance of life.

THOMAS F. O'RAHILLY.

No. V—BY PROFESSOR TOMAS O MAILLE, M.A., PH.D.

FATHER LEHMACHER has re-started the discussion of the difficult and troublesome problem of standard Irish. Every Irish scholar who is interested in the modern language has thought the matter out; but nobody has so far put forward an acceptable solution. Everybody, I dare say, is in agreement with Father Lehmacher that a standard language is highly desirable and that the question must be dealt with in some way, sooner or later. There have been attempts in recent times; but the failure to reach a standard has hitherto been caused by the effort of one or other of the existing dialects to assert itself as the literary anguage to the exclusion of all others.

Yet the question was solved before in the history of the language. Old Irish shows an extraordinary uniformity in which it is very difficult to find any trace of dialect, though dialects there must have been, in view of the number of different tribes. Again the question was solved by the poetic schools, as witness the bardic poetry of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, where great uniformity is observed by poets who belonged to widely different parts of the country. This may have been traditional to a large extent; but as the linguistic form is very different from Old Irish, it is evident that some strict standardising must have gone on. There are, in fact, references to such. The use of the analytic form of the verb by several of these poets indicates a northern influence, and may have been due to the preponderating political influence of the northern princes in those periods. Forms like *atá sinn, do thréig sinn, do-chuaidh mé, lér lean sibh* are extremely common.

The ideal solution would perhaps be, as indicated by Fr. Lehmacher, an Irish Shakespeare, who would shut out all the smaller folk and set the literary standard. But a Shakespeare or a Luther would have a much worse chance now than in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Since, at any rate, it is highly improbable that such a literary genius will appear for some years, some other solution of the problem must be sought.

As regards the other solutions put forward by Father Lehmacher, I, for one, would have no rooted objection to the Aran dialect, if there was any chance of its being adopted. In its favour could be said: (1) that it is almost a compromise between Munster and Connacht Irish; (2) that the people of these islands all speak Irish; (3) that great numbers of the new generation of Irish speakers go there to learn their Irish. On the other hand, one might ask: Why not adopt Connemara Irish, which already has a much better literary form? And the case for it would be strengthened by the fact that there is probably more Irish spoken in Connemara than in all the Irish-speaking districts in Munster put together. Or, to go further still, why not take North Galway (and S. Mayo) Irish, which is the language nearest in form and pronunciation to the literary tradition and is the mean between Ulster and Munster Irish? Its phonetic system, too, is very rich. An even better Irish from the point of view of correctness of form would be Roscommon Irish, except that it is now almost non-existent. In the old days, the language of West Meath was probably the nearest to the standard, as it would be largely modelled on the court language. It is quite likely that the gravitation centre of the language of culture changed about from Cruachain to Meath, to Ailech, W. Meath, Kincora, Dunmore or Tyrone, as the court or political centre was at one or other of these places. This influence, as well as that of the schools, is one now difficult to determine.

One of the chief causes of the difficulty of finding a common standard for Irish is that the principal areas where Irish is spoken at present are remote corners of the country like N. and W. Donegal, N.W. Mayo, Achill, Connemara, Aran, the Blaskets, Dingle peninsula and W. Kerry, W. Cork, Beare Island, Ring, Rathlin, etc. The language spoken in these places was probably at all times more or less dialect. If the Irish-speaking districts had been in, say, Cavan, Roscommon, Meath, Kildare, Leix, Éile and N. Tipperary, the provincial differences could be much more easily adjusted.

As regards the suggestion of going back to early Middle Irish, it is altogether impracticable. Even to go back to early Modern Irish would be difficult enough, too difficult perhaps to be successful. In fact, I am afraid we cannot go back at all. The best we could do in that way would be to use the Irish, say, of Mághnus Ó Domhnaill, the writer of the Life of Colum Cille, or the Irish of Keating, and bring it up to date by replacing archaic forms. The exact method of bringing such up to modern requirements would leave scope for a good deal of wrangling, but in the choice of a particular form the history of the language would help to point the way in the greater number of cases. Take a case in point, the ending of the first person plural, present and future. In Munster it is *-mid*, in Connacht *-muid*. If we look at (late) Middle Irish we find in i- verbs (and verbs ending in a slender consonant) *-mit* (=*mid*), as *léicmit*, also *bímit*, in a- verbs (and verbs ending in a broad consonant), *-mait* (=*maid*, *-muid*), as *marbhmait*, *iadhmait*, *atámait*, *atámaid* (*Acallamh na Senórach*). The compromise then would be to adopt *-mid* for verbs corresponding to i- verbs (verbs ending in a slender consonant), and *-maid*, *-muid* for a- verbs (verbs ending in a broad consonant). Or, better still, we might in this particular case take the conjunct form such as *leigeam* (*léigeam*), *léigfeam*, *leanfam*, etc., which is still occasionally used both in Connacht and Munster. Numerous other instances might be given.

It is my belief that, from the nature of the case, all the important Irish dialects must take their share in the construction of standard Irish, just as all parts of the country have done their share in the modern revival movement. In order to make Irish a vehicle for adequately expressing modern thought the help of all that is good in all its dialects is required—and a good deal more. National unity and the development of a national outlook will be best served by giving each dialect its share in forming the national language.

It is to be regretted that the tendency of Irish writers for the past six or eight years is rather in the direction of going away from a standard than approximating to anything like uniformity. If the principal Irish writers of all the provinces were to meet and to agree to leave out of their writings, as far as they knew how, anything obviously dialect or local, the problem would be in a good way towards being solved. The next generation would do the rest.

The plan of getting the standard adopted by the government and enforced by a Censor would be another way of doing it. But this would mean the adoption of a standard agreed on by a select committee of scholars representing the dialects. Otherwise the standard would represent merely the particular fancy of a permanent official. The Censor would then not go according to his own predilection, but every time he changed a vowel or a consonant, struck out or added an ending, he would look up his grammar and standard texts. This would presumably go on till the standard was sufficiently well known and established. I dare say in the present temper of the Irish people the decisions of any committee, no matter how expert and representative, would be challenged by " irregulars " in all quarters, who would require freedom for putting things in their own way. The subsequent struggles, which would not necessarily be profitless, might possibly go on for half a generation ; but, in the end, something definite would be arrived at which would have the great mass of learned and literary opinion behind it.

There is bound to be a certain artificiality about any standard evolved from an earlier literary form or from the dialects. But language itself is, in the first place, an artificial device which, in the course of time, becomes part of the thinking process and then seems quite spontaneous and "natural." Standard German is an artificial language to a large number of the population of Germany. A similar state of things to a less degree holds in France. In the case of Irish a standard language would be just as easy or even easier for learners of Irish than learning bits of various dialects or a more or less imperfect form of one dialect, as they do at present. As regards native speakers of Irish, the adoption of a few new forms, words and phrases would not be anything beyond them, as we have seen in several instances. In fact, native speakers possessed of a fair amount of culture very willingly adopt such words and phrases when they believe it makes for improvement. *Non-native speakers are much more conservative of what they have learned than are native speakers of what they know from childhood.* The conservatism of recent learners of Irish with reference to the old characters and the old spelling is a similar case.

The Intermediate students of some years ago went about solving this problem of a standard in their own way. I examined hundreds of papers of Intermediate students and never came across one who disdained to take a form or a phrase from any dialect he knew in order to help him to translate and to get higher marks. However, the Intermediate Board in its wisdom decided since then that the boys and girls of each province were to read only the books in their own particular dialect lest they should get familiar with any dialect but their own. At least, this is what their method came to in practice. This policy of forming the dialects into separate languages is having the effect of dividing this unfortunate island even more than it is, and of weakening the language movement by division instead of strengthening it.

Accordingly, I should agree with Fr. Lehmacher that the problem is urgent and is possible of solution. If individual writers and scholars want to show off the peculiarities of their respective dialects, the proper place to do so is in a learned periodical or in a special treatise on a particular dialect. Such work has a considerable value of its own and ought not to be neglected.

The present generation of Irish scholars are perhaps more in touch with the several dialects than any future generation is likely to be. They may have strong prejudices in favour of particular dialects, but that would make agreement among them all the more important.

T. Ó MAILLE.

A Reply

THROUGH the kindness of the Editor the foregoing criticisms of my article were sent to me for comment before publication.[1] Keen disappointment was naturally the only feeling which their perusal aroused. The distinguished scholars freely admit the evils which the lack of a unified literary language causes. They deal vigorously with the remedies which I ventured to propose; but—what is really the only

[1] With the exception of Professor Ó Máille's comments, which however reached me only when these lines had been written.

point of importance—they refrain carefully from any constructive suggestions of their own. If my proposals are impossible and there are no alternatives, then I cannot help thinking that the language is facing a very sombre future indeed.

His Grace Archbishop Sheehan rightly points out the conditions for permanent bilingualism. They are not present in Ireland. The task of Ireland to-day is to raise herself linguistically to the position of Wales, where Welsh is unequivocally the language of the people and where English, half-mastered and badly pronounced, serves for purposes of commerce and for communication with the greater world outside. Ireland must reach this position in two or three generations, and must make reasonable progress on the way to it in the present generation. Otherwise the language is doomed. This means that some three and a half million people have to apply themselves to the serious work of learning Irish. What must be done to lighten their task and to ensure their success ?

If points of secondary interest like the use of the Roman script and a more simple spelling have their importance, I cannot understand why the question of a unified language should be brushed aside as academic and fantastical. What can be a greater hindrance to the progress of the learner than a medley of dialects such as to-day prevails ? The primary schools will play a leading part in the revival. If the girls of a family are taught one dialect in the girls' school and the boys another dialect in the boys' school, or perhaps one dialect in the upper and another in the lower classes, what prospect is there of a peaceful and harmonious use of the language by both boys and girls in the home ? Will not the tendency rather be to have each side accusing the other (in English) of speaking wrong or faulty Irish ? Things will obviously be worse in the colleges, where it can happen that boys be taught an Ulster dialect in Junior Grade, a Connacht dialect in Middle Grade, and a Munster dialect in Senior Grade, meantime, perhaps, spending their holidays in Carrigaholt or Omeath ! Those who think that the language can make headway against such obstacles seem to me to be unduly optimistic. If under such conditions English is abandoned at all, which is unlikely, it will only be to give place to something like the Volapuk for which Prof. O'Rahilly expresses his contempt.

The living dialects must of course continue to live, no matter how much spoon-feeding and petting the task of keeping them alive may cost. The standard language, if one is adopted, must draw chiefly on them for enrichment of vocabulary and idiom. My claim is that the three million odd who have to drop English for Irish be given a definite Irish language to learn and not be left to wander despairingly in the labyrinth of the dialects. " If Irish only lives, the question of a literary standard may be trusted to solve itself quickly and well." But Irish will not live except some such heroic effort is made to assist the millions of English speakers of the Galltacht in learning it. The natural progress of every dialect without exception is directly to the grave.

Which dialect is adopted as the standard language is a matter of indifference. I gave reasons in my article for choosing that of Aran. If the South Connacht dialect is preferable, then let that be adopted. If the West Munster dialect has obviously the first claims, as Dr. Bergin and Prof. O'Rahilly imply, and as Dr. O'Connell openly asserts, then let

that by all means be adopted. It has certainly made a better beginning than any other in the way of producing a literature. But, with all respect for its chief literary representative, it is only a beginning, and a beginning which, judged by the ordinary canons of literary criticism, is not quite free from limitations. Dr. Bergin argues that in morphology and idiom this dialect is the nearest approach to the old literary standard. In morphology certainly. In idiom ?—it would be interesting to see Dr. Bergin's proofs. And what of the accent, which, in Irish particularly, plays such a large part and which has shifted more in the Munster than in any of the other dialects ?

Dr. Bergin notes that the Irish of the coming Irish-speaking Ireland will be new in form. With that I am in complete agreement. He hints that the issue of official documents by the Irish Government may provide a basis for a future unified language. My point is that such a work should not be left to ill-qualified or unqualified officials, but should be done deliberately by linguistic experts. The one hope of preventing tinkering with the language is to place its development in such hands. I see no reason why Irish experts should not agree on a unified language that would be, broadly speaking, as unartificial as the standard language in any other country. The whole process of making Irish the language of an anglicised Ireland is surely artificial in the highest degree, yet it is rightly regarded as possible. I take for granted that the millions of learners would have good sense and good will enough to adopt such a unified language.

His Grace Dr. Sheehan hopes to see the Irish dialects holding the same position in Ireland as the Greek dialects held in the Greek cultural world of antiquity. But, not to mention other difficulties, what was tolerable in pre-Christian times may not be equally tolerable in the twentieth century. If at the gathering of which Dr. Sheehan speaks all the existing dialects had been represented, if, in addition, numerous representatives of the Gaelicised Galltacht had attended, each with his own derivative from some living dialect, arbitrarily or accidentally chosen, or perhaps a mixture of many dialects concocted according to some fanciful recipe of his own invention, with individualistic grammar and with every sound slightly wrong, then the only result would have been Babel. After a short time one sentiment would have pervaded the assembly—that it had better speak English or break up and go home.

I still hope that in a country noted for the fertility of its genius satisfactory means of providing a unified literary language will soon be found.

Gustav Lehmacher.

Bonn.

A PROPHET OF REACTION: CHARLES MAURRAS

BY DENIS GWYNN

II. The Programme of Reaction [1]

IN my previous article I gave an outline of the general attack upon democracy as a form of government that is being conducted in France by the school of reactionary nationalism of which M. Charles Maurras is, if not the titular chief, the recognised intellectual leader, and to a very large extent the real founder. Having dealt as fully as possible with his destructive case against democracy, I shall now give a brief summary of his constructive programme. There is no need to say that M. Maurras is the principal advocate of the new royalist movement in France. He was not born a royalist, but became one when he was still a young man, as the result of an earnest and close study of French politics and history; and the majority of his principal colleagues in the powerful movement for the existence of which he is personally responsible are, like himself, converts to royalism and not hereditary disciples of a royalist tradition. Most of them, indeed, have been converted by the compelling force of M. Maurras's own political writings. "Beginning life simply as patriots and nationalists who had no party prejudices," he has written of himself and his colleagues, "we set ourselves first to understand what the real evil of our society was,

[1] For Part I, "His Case Against Democracy," see last (December) issue.

and then to discover how it could be remedied, but refusing to have anything to say to remedies which either aggravate the evil or have no useful application to it. Our sole starting point, therefore, was simply the disorders of French politics. Our conclusions have been determined simply and solely by a study of French life and its conditions. . . . No party interests or personal prejudices have influenced us. We have pursued our path from a study of our national perils to that of our national salvation, guided by reason alone and not by emotion."

Space does not permit here any close examination of the intellectual phases through which M. Maurras and his colleagues passed on their way to royalism. It is sufficient to note their conclusions. And there have been few political movements in which the same solidarity of thought was to be found, or where a single spokesman has expressed so clearly the ideas of all his followers as does M. Maurras. Observation of the actual chaos that paralyses all French politics—and especially of the appalling dissensions and distrust that were rife in France at the time of the Dreyfus trial, when M. Maurras first became drawn into political journalism—convinced him that the root evil of his country was the absence of any central authority capable of inspiring confidence above that warfare of political parties. From this he arrived gradually at the conclusion that no such central authority could ever possibly come into existence under the conditions which are inherent in any democracy. The conviction grew upon him, and has only gathered strength with the years, that there was no other possible means by which this supreme authority could be established except by a definite restoration of France's old hereditary system of government. "In every element of order and of prosperity," he has written in a characteristic passage, "there must always reside some element of political heredity. This is true even in France, where our barest minimum of stability and of administration—

what is described as the 'continuity of the Republic'—is itself a direct result of the leadership exercised by the four allied states—the Jews, the Freemasons, the Protestants, and the Métèques, of whom three at least have a hereditary organisation. If it had not been for them, everything would have collapsed in hopeless anarchy." He does not deny to any country the right to repudiate the principle or the practice of hereditary government. He only insists that "if a people wish their institutions to endure, if they wish to remain a prosperous nation enjoying security and public order, they must adhere to it. Any society is free to give itself a democratic and elective form of government. But from the moment when it adopts such a form of government it implicitly renounces all hope either of an enduring or of a prosperous national life."

M. Maurras is naturally more concerned with the actual problems of France than with the application of his principles to other countries. For France he sees no possible salvation except in a return to the hereditary monarchy. But his philosophy of politics is of much wider application than to be restricted to those countries only in which the national fortunes have been for centuries identified with the maintenance of a strong monarchic power. He insists again and again that he advocates a restoration of the monarchy for France simply because French history has made a monarchy the natural expression of the French political genius. "We have never spoken," he writes in his famous *Dilemme de M. Marc Sangnier*, "of monarchy as being either eternal or immortal in itself; but we do insist upon the eternal and the immortal character of hereditary government—whether it be single or collective in its form, whether it be republican, as in Florence, or monarchic, as in Paris." In his *Enquête sur la Monarchie* he develops this point in various places.

> To what [he writes, for instance] must the aristocratic republics

attribute their good government ? It is due to a constant, though it be a mysterious, cause. The aristocratic republics conform to the fundamental law that must govern every prosperous State—they adhere to the principle of heredity. Whether power be concentrated in the hands of one family or distributed among several families, the operation of the hereditary principle has the effect of nationalising this power. The ruling dynasty—or, if there are a number of them, the dominant families—are closely identified by their own private interests with the most vital interests of the State. Undoubtedly they take a special care to safeguard their own interests, like all human beings ; but in safeguarding them they are simultaneously, and by necessity, safeguarding the public interests as well. This is one of the most delicate subtleties of natural politics, and it is essential to appreciate it clearly. But once the point has been rightly grasped it is possible to understand why states prosper or decay, by referring directly to this question of whether or not they conform to the hereditary principle. The crucial question is whether or not the general interest is controlled by some powerful organisation or organisms, which are themselves directly interested in its preservation ? Under such conditions either a monarchical or a polyarchical state can function satisfactorily But if there are no such essential organisms, then everything is lacking for want of any continuous organic direction.

Nor does M. Maurras pretend to claim even that the restoration of the monarchy (or, in other countries, the establishment of some hereditary principle) will in itself bring salvation, or even necessarily make any great difference except in so far as it is properly exercised. What he does claim is that any sort of hereditary system introduces an element of order into society, and gives it the anchorage which it can never find under an unmitigated democratic system. " The monarchy," he wrote explicitly in his *Dilemme de Marc Sangnier*, " cannot bring any ready-made solution either to patriotic citizens or to the national associations or to the religious organisations ; all that it does is to give them freedom for an independent existence, for an unrestricted development, to live in peace under just laws." I have shown in my previous article how M. Maurras denounces democratic government in practice as being the negation of all

individual freedom, the incurable cause of utter social and economic insecurity. So he writes elsewhere :—

> It is not the connection between monarchical government and professional associations that we insist upon. What we seek to show is the incompatibility of professional associations and any democratic system. Professional organisations, which are impotent in a democracy, obtain ample scope under a monarchy. It is the same with decentralisation. It is the same with wide views of foreign policy. It is the same with any understanding with the Catholic Church. That is not to say that the kings will treat with Rome as Frangois I did, or that they will conduct their policy in Europe as Louis XIII and Louis XIV did, or will make an Etienne Boileau their adviser as Louis IX did, or will convene provincial assemblies as Louis XVI did. But we do say that there is no inherent vice in Monarchy which would prevent these happy policies from being pursued, or these protective institutions from existing. The natural goodwill of men, which is ill-served and betrayed by democracy owing to its very nature, is reinforced, or at worst given free play, under a monarchy by its nature. Men may differ, circumstances may vary, times may change. Mistakes there will always be, and abuses and faults, so long as the weakness of human nature has to struggle against the imperfection or the antagonism of our planet. But at least there will not be a system of government so constituted as directly to frustrate society and order, civilisation and national life. Argument and history alike show that the Republic cannot give good government, however it may will to do so ; argument and history show that the monarchy can do so in the future as it has done in the past.

M. Maurras repudiates all ideas of organising or strengthening democracy. " It is impossible," he says, " either to organise democracy or to democratise organisation. If you organise democracy, you automatically set up aristocracies ; if you democratise an organisation, you merely begin to disorganise it. To organise means to discriminate—in other words, to create inequalities in order to serve a useful purpose. To democratise is to equalise—in other words, to substitute for differences, inequalities and organisations, the equality which is sterile and even destructive of life." Within its proper limits he has no objection to the elective system of

representation: he even advocates it for the conduct of local and provincial affairs. Nor has he any particular aversion for the Parliament of Great Britain, since he is satisfied that it does not claim to represent the final authority within the nation, but confines itself to controlling the executive over which the hereditary king presides. The House of Lords likewise inspires him with a certain amount of confidence, as a hereditary Chamber capable of controlling the emotional excesses of a popular Parliament. But he has no toleration for any system which contains no supreme centre of authority, superior to and independent of the mere expression of the popular will. And except in some form of hereditary power in the State—unless there be a definite place in it for an extension of the ecclesiastical power into the civil sphere—how is any clearly recognisable source of authority to be discovered? Whatever form it may assume, M. Maurras seeks first this supreme authority as the sole guarantee of stable government. Whether the power be vested in a single ruler or in an aristocracy, he acknowledges its supremacy with equal veneration, declaring that "the sovereignty or power of the Supreme Ruler is subject to limitation but can never be shared." To the liberal principles that are the basis of democracy he opposes the four principles of heredity, tradition, antiparliamentarianism and decentralisation.

It may be urged that there is an alternative, at least in moments of crises or of special tension, to the paralysing operation of parliamentary government. There is always the possibility of holding a referendum to determine the real feeling of the people. But what is any referendum really worth? How far, in other words, is any democracy capable of knowing what it wants or of appreciating what is its real interest? M. Maurras reserves his most overwhelming onslaughts for the referendum. To him it is the absolute *reductio ad absurdum* of democracy. In everything that he writes

he somehow finds occasion to heap ridicule upon it. I may quote the most recent of his daily articles in the *Action Française* newspaper, which has appeared on the morning that I write these lines, and which deals with this very question. M. Dumont-Wilden, a non-royalist journalist, had written some outspoken criticism of the ineptitude common to all governments under the present party system, declaring that a radical government, in dealing with France's present difficulties in her foreign policy, would show itself "even more deplorably unstable and undecided than the present governments." He sees no hope for the future but in the prevalence of "ideas and of an authority capable of giving effect to them"; and he looks to the "clear assertion of the people's will" to see that this is brought to pass. But "What people's will?" interrupts M. Maurras, half despairingly, half in triumph.

> The plebiscite is the clearest possible means by which the people may assert its desires. It is scarcely worth while recalling how manifestly and how consistently it has gone wrong in France—whether it be in confirming the downfall of Louis Philippe, that Napoleon of peace, and in electing that Napoleon of defeat, Prince Louis Bonaparte, in December, 1848; or when it approved the criminal follies perpetrated from 1852 to 1870. M. Dumont-Wilden surely cannot expect us reasonably to revert to this, the clearest of all the sources of our misfortunes. Even the present chaos, with the risks and perils it involves, is less cruel than that certainty of catastrophe. The only true principle of politics is that which places authority on top and counts liberties as deriving from authority, and so does not seek to make the world walk with its heels in the air. That topsy-turveydom used to be fashionable in politics, but we are beginning to break away from it. We are breaking away from it more and more.

That democracy is inherently weak, while either a monarchy or any other form of hereditary government is inherently strong, is a truth too obvious to need elaboration. The history of France since the Revolution, and above all the present chaotic condition of its politics, are sufficient demonstration of the anarchical effects that a democratic *régime*, unsupported by any hereditary power

such as has survived even in England, will inevitably produce among a people to whom politics are an intellectual rather than a material field of activity. But this weakness that comes from the lack of any stable fulcrum of government, and even the disintegration that follows upon the gradual capture of public life in all democracies by adventurers and demagogues, are only part of the whole complicated process of political decay. Democracy must invariably mean weak government; it must almost invariably involve corrupt government; but it no less inevitably leads to an ever increasing excess of state interference with individual liberty and with private enterprise. In every modern democracy this process towards centralisation under State control is constantly and relentlessly at work. M. Maurras points out that the process is accelerated, even in countries like England which have retained some remnant of hereditary government, in proportion as the hereditary principle is abandoned. And just as he advocates a restoration of the hereditary principle as the sole means by which strong government may be restored and corrupt or ignorant government *may* be (even if they *are* not at once) replaced by the rule of experienced and disinterested professional legislators, so he contends that the sole remedy for centralisation lies in the same direction.

Here, too, he insists that without a return to the hereditary system of government—whether it be a monarchy or an aristocracy or a bourgeoisie or whatever form it may take in each country according to the character and the traditions of the people—it is impossible to hope for any serious decentralisation of government, or even for a check to the inexorable centripetal tendency which is in the very nature of democracies.

> Monarchy alone [he writes] is in a position to translate its promises into actions, for it does not find itself confronted with an electorate. A State which is not based upon popular election can see without dismay the associations and organisations of its citizens

rising above it in certain spheres : it has no cause to fear anyone but those who are factionists or who disturb the peace. But an elective State is absolutely dependent and is consequently afraid of everything. Any group of citizens which acquires undue influence can turn the electoral machine against it—which is, and must naturally be, in its eyes the worst of all evils. . . . That is why the Royalists in France claim as their natural allies all those who are striving to bring about a restriction of the present powers of the State. For, without being antagonistic to the State, the monarchy can tend, and often has tended in the past, to rid the State of everything that is not its proper concern. Whereas the Revolution, and after it the Empire, subordinated everything to the uniformity of a bureaucratic rule, the monarchy used to leave any number of private interests free to make their own laws and regulations. The politicians and writers who criticise our laws of inheritance and seek to give back liberty to the Family ; those who find fault with the State schools and demand freedom in education ; those who denounce the rigidity of our administration, who complain about the departmental regulations and call for separate freedom for the cities and the provinces ; those who object to the interference of the State or of the politicians with the working classes and demand wide liberties for the trade unions ; those who protest against the pretensions of the State in religious matters and demand entire religious liberty ; all these various people are naturally met half-way by the royalists, who have not to deviate in the least from their own path. . . . They are in no way in conflict with the guiding motive of their own programme. For a State which desires to become strong concentrates all its energies upon its own true sphere of action and rids itself of all distracting functions ; a State which seeks to deliver the national interest from the incompetent control of private citizens gets them to occupy themselves with the interests that they are competent to direct. The citizens find their advantage in dealing with the subjects that are familiar to them, while the State is reinforced in the power they derive from its own rights and duties. . . .

When the Republic or any of its partisans promise to increase the liberties of its citizens, it is as though they were promising the moon. What a monarchic State could do, a democratic State is incapable of doing. What monarchies have in fact done, republics could never have done. No republican State has ever yet changed from centralisation to decentralisation. And every republican State, including both Switzerland and the United States, tends to become more and more centralised. In France the State has always

taken away with one hand a little more than it seemed to have conceded with the other. Were there even a Chambre des Députés entirely composed of federalists, they would find themselves compelled to centralise out of sheer necessity—to prevent the Jacobins from turning decentralisation to their own advantage to secure their own return to power. Such is the dismal play of the natural forces, from which the republicans are without any means of escape. For without decentralisation they can have neither religious liberty nor peace in education nor social reform nor labour reconstruction, and the whole programme of improvement becomes Utopian or even pernicious. To the recurring violent reactions, alike of the working classes in disorder or of those social organisations which are making the first struggles to secure freedom of association, the republican régime replies invariably with the same resistance. Faithful to the spirit of the Revolution and of the Consulate—wedded at once to the principles of individualism and to State control—it tightens the bonds of its democratic State socialism, which have already secured their grip upon the whole material and spiritual life of society. That futile machine which tries to impose a manner of thinking when it has no thought of its own ; a code of morals when it is itself without morals ; which talks of sharing wealth when its own existence is a permanent cause of impoverishment—with empty coffers, empty heart, and empty head—it promises to all comers imaginary resources, it pilfers a bribe from everyone and, under the pretext of equality or fraternity, uses it to pamper its own partisans. The political middleman, the party official, takes all, and so, from decadence to decadence, those groups which in their beginnings meant something more or less real have come to stand for nothing more than the most miserable of electoral parasites. Everything that clings to life seeks to shake free from it. And no doubt the State is able to check and frustrate with ease their revolt against their yokes.

To throw off this yoke M. Maurras looks—is it in reverie only, or is it in real anticipation of events ?—to a revolution that shall be directed not against the State as a State, but against the democratic and elective form of State. He sees the genesis of such an insurrection in the " coalition, into an energetic and clear-sighted minority, of all the forces of order against all the forces of anarchy." Then will begin " that great work of the monarchy " which is to be carried out with the assistance

of all the natural and traditional strength of the nation. It will strive to secure that all that the State does so badly to-day, in working from the centre outwards, shall be done in the contrary manner, the outer parts working towards the centre—through the action of the families of France, through the communities and the professional organisations. The monarchy will be under no necessity to produce for every question that arises a uniform and single solution to cover a variety of very different cases; it will have the time and freedom to treat these questions in groups, or to put it more clearly, as they present themselves in their natural course. The chief reason for the existence of parties in France will disappear as soon as a natural and intelligent co-operation between professional and local federalism makes it possible for each case to be dealt with by the supreme authority in so far as it concerns the supreme authority.

In this question of federalism, as in the question of democratic government, M. Maurras is met with the retort that he is asking people to throw themselves against the general tendency of the times. He is constantly reminded that under modern conditions the mass of the people must be given the effective influence upon central government, and that this idea of an absolute monarchy is impossible. But just as to those French Catholics and Conservatives who tell him that the tide has set towards democratic government and that it is useless to work against the tide, he answers indignantly and with a sublime immunity to pessimism, that there is all the more reason for contending against a current which is leading Europe towards disaster; so also to those who criticise his federalist programme on the ground that the modern world tends more and more towards central institutions, he retorts that all these "tendencies, movements, currents of human civilisation," of which so much is made, are in fact no more than "convenient expressions to represent what has already happened: they cannot in

any way restrict the course of the future." Writing twenty-five years ago he presented a formidable case, which still remains as forcible as when it was written, against those who argue too glibly of the inexorable character of this centralising tendency of modern life. "It is obvious," he wrote then, "that the effects upon distance and upon time of these new means of locomotion have produced important changes in the conditions of men's lives. But are all these means of locomotion of the same kind and are they producing, or will they all produce, the same effect?" He points out how the introduction of bicycling has had a totally different effect from that of railway locomotion; while (writing before the first aeroplane had ever flown and while motor cars were still almost unknown) he predicts that motor transport and aviation will have different effects again upon social and economic life. It may even be, he argued then with vivid foresight, that some of these methods of rapid communication will have the effect of making localities more self-contained instead of more centralised; it will happen, for instance, that peasants who find that they can do their marketing by post on seeing samples to choose from, will be freed from their previous necessity of going to a distance for their purchases. "The discovery of navigation," he exclaims, "did not kill the idea of national patriotism; it had the result of making men all the more deeply attached to their own countries. Commerce between peoples, the strengthening of international ties, must in normal conditions have the effect of making each separate country more delightful to its own people, as it becomes more varied, more attractive through the introduction of improvements and new luxuries from abroad."

We must, in short [he writes, in the conclusion of his powerful pamphlet on decentralisation] change the basic principle of the institutions of the year VIII.[1] By imposing a multitude of insistent

[1] The last of the French revolutionary constitutions, which M. Maurras describes as having completed the process of centralising government in France.

distractions upon the State, they weakened it in its own proper sphere. They sapped still more of its vitality by provoking among its citizens those feelings of impatience, disgust and hostility, those habits of lethargy which its constant interference produces. By its neglect of the great issues and its excessive attention to small questions, this centralised State is driving France into anarchy and making her lose all true ideas of patriotism. If the patriotic ideal is to be saved, the country itself must be reformed, just as the State must be reformed if the conception of government is to be saved. The State in France will then be regarded no less as a supreme unit of government; but as a unit formed upon principles less rigid, and more in harmony with its natural riches, more suited to our social customs and calculated to produce a better division of the labour of public life. To the communes must be left the management of all affairs that are specially their own; to the provinces the questions that concern the provinces; so that the supreme national organisation may be relieved of all the functions that sap its strength, and may bring a greater continuity and energy of purpose to the direction of the country's national destinies. If it were thus restored to its natural functions, the central power would see them quickly confirmed and strengthened. A France in which the individual liberties of the cities and of the provinces were clearly defined and safeguarded, as they are in a number of other countries which are organised on a federal plan, would, like them, be able to ensure greater stability and greater freedom to the chief organism of the Supreme Power—whose function it is to protect the national unity, to preserve the political traditions, to hold in trust the fortunes of the country, to prepare, to direct and to carry out those wide and long national policies which enable a country to retain and to renew its strength, while it remains free and grows in power.

It is perhaps through his advocacy of federalism, even more than as the chief prophet of reaction from democracy, that M. Maurras has attained so wide an influence in all spheres of public life in France. People talk of him as of a genius standing apart from the political controversies of the royalist movement. Men who refuse to take the *Action Française* seriously because they regard the idea of a royalist restoration as fantastic, or others who grow furious at the mention of its name, change their tone immediately when they speak of

M. Charles Maurras. That he has succeedeed in rallying to his idea of a royalist reaction so large and so varied a following from every class in France is a wonderful proof of his political sincerity. But his following and collaborators in the programme of federalism are vastly more numerous and include men of every party as well as of every class. On the same platform with him you may find impenitent anti-clerical veterans like M. Ferdinand Buisson or sentimental Liberals like M. Jean Hennessy or Catholic republicans by the score. And it may be that, while M. Maurras holds aloft his monarchic ideals day after day and is so plainly convinced that there can be no real stability in France without a restoration of hereditary government, he yet finds consolation in considering that, however distant the realisation of a monarchical restoration may be, the policy of drastic decentralisation is already in the forefront of every extensive programme of political reform. Without hereditary government, France may be doomed to a continuance of weak and corrupt government in all the largest questions of her politics. But if the federal programme can be achieved, democracy will at least have been shorn of half its power for evil. It would be an enormous gain for France if her present political system could be so reformed as to remove from the control of Parliament the whole field of local and provincial administration, which in France (as in all agricultural countries) is far more vital to the lives of the people than the larger questions that have to be settled in Paris. Federalism would unquestionably strengthen France in her public life, by developing and strengthening the roots of the characteristic life of each province; it would strengthen her still more by simplifying the work that is now done by Parliament, and so leaving less scope for demagogic mystifications of the electorate and for corruption in the capital. If the sphere of Parliamentary control can only be reduced, that in itself will be an enor-

mous advance; it will enable France to breathe more freely, it will remove the gravest cause of her political weakness. At the same time it will clear the way for a strengthening of Parliament, even if it be not eventually superseded by an hereditary system of government. And this is the immediately practical lesson for the new self-governing democracies of Europe that is to be learned from the chaos of France's politics and from the remedies that are prescribed for France by her most highly gifted and most qualified student of politics.

It cannot be denied that democracy has failed in France. After less than a hundred and fifty years' more or less continuous application of the ideas and the institutions which the Revolution introduced and which were consolidated by Bonaparte, France has lost all her old pride of place in Europe, her finances are tottering on the brink of bankruptcy, her population has remained stationary and is now actually declining, while that of every other great country has increased enormously; her navy has ceased to count in the world and her army is no longer really adequate to defend her frontiers; her political life is so unstable that a government scarcely ever lasts for a full twelve months, her foreign policy has been disastrously undecided and weak, and her people have lost all faith in a system of Government which has simply become identified in their eyes with the constant and inefficient encroachments of a continually expanding bureaucracy. The old watchwords of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity are regarded as a mockery. Not only have new social classes arisen, more deeply divided than ever before, to replace those which the Revolution sought to destroy. Even faith in democratic government itself is fast disappearing, and it would be difficult to challenge M. Maurras's sweeping indictment when he says that "the Revolution proclaimed the reign of popular assemblies: France to-day regards them with limitless contempt. The Revolution established the Departments:

to-day France speaks only in terms of provinces. The Revolution abolished the guilds, and to-day France is syndicalist. The Revolution broke in upon all the national traditions, and to-day the heart of France harks back passionately to everything that evokes the past."

I may conclude by quoting his solemn appeal to all "those nationalists and those moderate, enlightened men in official circles who, in so large numbers in every party, are now devoting their thoughts to finding a means of replacing the present executive of government, of restraining the turbulence of parliamentary agitators, of bringing more order, more continuity, more effective power into the higher spheres of the State. I beg of them to reflect that this security for which they seek so earnestly, this consolidation and development of the forces of France, cannot be made possible until after a thoroughly comprehensive and wide scheme of decentralisation has been carried out. Not until this first problem has been solved can it be even possible to grasp and tackle and solve the others. For they all alike depend first upon it, and they are literally subordinate to it. Whoever would seek to reorganise our nation must first bring back to life its primary elements—its communal and its provincial life. Whoever desires to see the fulfilment of the nationalist programme must start by making a framework on federal lines."

DENIS GWYNN.

CHARITY IN THE EARLY CHURCH

BY JOSEPH E. CANAVAN, S.J.

PRIMARILY, Christianity is a religion, explaining and regulating the duties of the individual towards the Cause and Author of his being; and secondarily, it involves a social theory, not contained formally perhaps in the fundamental concept of the Redemption, but easily deducible from it by the simplest process of reasoning, even if Christ had not Himself explained and developed and applied this social theory on many occasions. "The Gospel, it has been truly said, is at bottom both individualistic and socialistic."[1] By baptism the Christian is made a member of a mystical body whose head is Christ. Further, by baptism he is admitted into an organisation, each member of which professes the same faith, obeys the same rulers, shoulders the same obligations, and anticipates the same destiny. Each Christian by the very act of realising that God is the Father, the Redeemer and the Rewarder of all, is forced to admit that in the supernatural sphere all men may be equal, and that in the social sphere all men have a dignity intrinsic to their manhood, their exile, their trial, and their goal. So the Christian faith implies not merely theoretically, but practically also, what Mgr. Batiffol calls an "exterior socialisation." Out of its primary individualistic principle, the apparent paradoxes of Christian socialisation are evolved and find their justification.

Christianity then, in so far as it manifested itself

[1] Harnack: *Mission and Expansion of Christianity.*

politically or socially to the pagans at its inception, was a brotherhood ruled by divine charity. Among the pagans the idea of charity, as we have explained it, was unknown. I do not wish to imply that benevolence was an unpractised virtue, or even that it was rare. "I have given bread to those who were hungry, clothes to those who were naked, drink to those who were thirsty," says an Egyptian epitaph dating from the Sixth Dynasty. Long before the coming of Christ there were public hospitals in India and Ireland; public physicians in the Greek cities, in Marseilles and a few other Gallic towns, and in the towns of the Roman province of Asia during the reign of Antoninus Pius; public hostels for the entertainment of strangers at Athens and Thebes. Stoicism educated its adherents to a human kindliness, not without success; for we notice a great advance in the practice of benevolence among the pagans of the early Empire. But, though we admit all this, we must protest against the fallacy, freely indulged in by Renan and others, of reading into this merely natural humanitarianism the perfect motive of Christian charity. Charity came into the world with Christ, and not before. Until the Church preached and propagated it, it did not attain the dignity of a distinct moral virtue. Pliny, Hadrian, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, the spice-dealer of Lorium were generous with their money and their sympathy, as Julian the Apostate was later, for political or economic or sentimental reasons; but when Basil founded his hospital at Caesarea, his motive was to succour those who were made in the image of God and redeemed by the blood of Christ. He looked for no material recompense; he was not directly concerned with the political improvement which might follow on his action. Basil's hospital and Marcus Aurelius' foundation for young girls may be regarded as purely historical facts, and under this aspect be criticised and compared as works of natural kindness or human ingenuity; but in the moral sphere the two actions are in completely different orders of conduct.

The young Church did not merely assert, but taught, practised, and actively enforced a discipline of charity. Hermas even startles us by his bold doctrine of unity. He writes[1] that the Church, like the Empire, is a unity, but of a more radical nature, a separate, self-contained, mystical Oneness, independent of its constituents, organic like a society, immutable and eternal like a Platonic Idea. As an organisation it is concerned not merely with the spiritual welfare of its members, but also with their need of food, education and amusement. Tatian, too, describes the Christian organisation as favouring a universal system of homogeneous law and custom,[2] thus appealing cleverly to the minds of those Emperors who, less influenced by the narrower Greek conception that moderate size was of the essence of a state, strove to create a highly centralised imperialism.[3] The Emperors, however, persecuted Christianity precisely for this reason, that it claimed to be and was an *imperium in imperio*, breaking into and disintegrating the solid Roman organisation in which religion was entwined with civil government, the priests being ministers of the body politic in as strict a sense as the consuls were. The Jews, with their steady vision of a future Messias, and Christians who talked of conscience, both refused to lay a grain of incense on the altar of the Lord God Domitian. The Romans persecuted both Judaism and Christianity as *religiones illicitae*, not because they worshipped an unknown god (though the Christians were frequently called "atheists"), but because they did not worship in accordance with Roman law. But the persecutions only welded the Church into a closer unity by throwing the rich and poor into each other's arms, thus offering the spectacle of that personal, spontaneous charity which grew a little cold when the Church emerged from the Catacombs, and has never been completely recaptured.

[1] Sim. ix. 17; ix. 17. [2] Or. contra Graecos, § 28-29.

[3] Cf. Prof. W. M. Ramsay: "The Statesmanship of Paul," and "Life in the Days of St. Basil the Great."

The main difference between the charity of the ages of persecution and the charity of the ages of toleration is, that in the latter charity was more perfectly organised, less personal and more vicarious than in the former. Until Constantine's Edict the Church was a proscribed society, the Christians a *gens lucifuga*; and it would have been madness to collect in one spot, say, the 1,500 poor whom the Church of Rome fed daily in the middle of the third century, for the sight instead of edifying would only have roused the cupidity of the pagans. The work was done less ostentatiously; and though a great deal was left to personal initiative, the collection and distribution of alms, for instance, was well administered, if not minutely organised. Indeed, all through this period, there is evidence of rudimentary organisation in every charitable undertaking which the Church controlled.

On account of the complaints made by the Hellenistic Jews that their widows were neglected in the daily ministrations,[1] the Apostles, seeing that they could not in the press of other business themselves attend to the feeding of the faithful, chose seven men full of wisdom and sanctity to serve the tables, consecrated them by an imposition of hands, and called them διάκονοι, or servants. The Apostles were henceforth free to apply themselves entirely τῇ διακονίᾳ τοῦ λόγου, for which purpose they had received alms from the Gentile churches.[2] Of the deacons St. Ignatius of Antioch writes in his epistle to the Trallians, "Those who are deacons of the mysteries of Jesus Christ must please all men in all ways. For they are not deacons of meats and drinks only, but servants of the Church of God." St. Cyprian accuses the deacon Nicostratus of robbing widows and orphans, and of defrauding the Church.[3] The deacons, therefore, were the administrators of the Church funds; and, other Christian communities rapidly following

[1] Acts vi. 1, *et seq.*

[2] Rom. xxvii. 25, 27; II. Cor. viii. 6 *et seq.*; Acts xi. 30.

[3] Ep. xlix. ad Cornelium.

the example of Jerusalem, the deacons came to be the recognised intermediaries between the Bishop and the laity. According to the Apostolic Constitutions they were to be " the ears and eyes and mouth and heart and soul of the bishop." The deacons were ordered to come into personal contact with the poor and suffering. It was their duty to seek out those in misery, and investigate the facts before they gave relief, because the Church did not want to continue the demoralising practice of the *sportula* and the *annona*. Indiscriminate almsgiving was, therefore, strongly prohibited. Indeed, the Didache uses a vigorous expression when treating of this matter : " Let thy alms sweat into (ἱδρωσάτω εἰς) thy hands until thou knowest to whom thou art giving." Sickness, temporary loss of work, a numerous family were regarded as fair titles to assistance ; and, on the whole, it was considered more advisable to provide work than to give a dole of food or money.

At each mass offerings in kind were placed upon the altar at the Offertory by the deacon. Each week, or each month, according to Tertullian,[1] it was customary to pay into the Church treasury, not a settled amount reckoned on a strict rule of percentage, but a free donation. Among the early Christians there was not, as some have lightly asserted, anything in the nature of communism.[2] St. Paul freely admits the rights of private property, as much for this reason as for any other, that as almsgiving increases personal merit, it presupposes the possession and surrender of personal goods. However, the opinion is expressed fairly frequently in the early Fathers that, though prudence must be exercised, yet the rich, who are but stewards of their wealth, are guilty of theft if they refuse to aid the indigent. Those who had were recommended to set aside in their wills something for those who had not. Sometimes

[1] Apol. xxxix.

[2] " Nothing of the kind ever existed in the great Gentile church." (Harnack : *Mission and Expansion*, vol. 1., c. 4).

" It is far more correct to represent the state of things as an absence of all institutions whatsoever." (Uhlhorn : *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*, p. 68)

converts made a renunciation of their wealth in favour of the Church—Marcion, for example, who on becoming a Christian in A.D. 139 handed over 200,000 sesterces. Fasting, too, was recommended as a means of saving money for the purpose of almsgiving: "Fast," says Ignatius of Antioch in his letter to Philip, "and give to the poor what remains over after your meal." "If anyone among them is poor and needy," writes Aristides the Apologist, "and they have no food to spare, they fast for two or three days, that they may meet the poor man's need of sustenance."[1]

The money thus subscribed[2] was brought to the president, who decided the allotments on the advice of the deacons. Then, at the conclusion of the agape or love-feast, where rich and poor intermingled, part of the alms was distributed by the deacons, the rest being distributed in the homes. Presidents and deacons had absolute control of these funds, hence bishops and deacons are advised again and again to be ἀφιλάργυροι, "no lovers of money."[3] The Council of Neo-Caesarea (A.D. 314 or A.D. 325) ordained that out of reverence for the Apostolic custom, there should never be more than seven deacons, even in populous districts.[4] The Canon was observed, for we read that during the terrible plague in the pontificate of Gregory the Great, the people of Rome were marshalled for the intercessory procession according to the seven deaconries.

Another method of giving relief was for Christians of ample means to undertake to feed a certain number of the poor at their homes, after an arrangement with the deacon. A sentence in the Apostolic Constitutions throws some light on this custom: "Let a widow do nothing without

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[1] Apol. xv.

[2] In A.D. 250 the Roman church supported 100 clergy and 1,500 poor on alms alone. Harnack puts the upkeep of this number (reckoning £7 10s. per annum for each person, the yearly cost of the upkeep of a slave) at £12,000 per annum.

[3] φιλόπτωχος—lover of the poor—was a trait expected in a Bishop.

[4] Canon 15: Διάκονοι ἑπτὰ ὀφείλουσιν εἶναι κατὰ τὸν κανόνα, κἂν πάνυ μεγάλη εἴη ἡ πόλις: πεισθήσῃ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς βίβλου τῶν πράξεων.

the sanction of the deacon when she wants to go to the house of anyone to eat and drink."[1] If a Christian tried to insinuate himself into these gatherings without the permission of the deacon, or accepted alms on any other occasion without being in urgent need of them, he was visited with the severest penalties,[2] because such impostures were treated as acts of robbery from the deserving poor. And especially later when the Church enjoyed some peace and security, the Christians adopting and sanctifying the custom of the pagan collegia, made a funeral the occasion of a banquet. Thus, when Pammachus, a wealthy Roman patrician, lost his wife, he entertained *all* the poor of Rome, with the result that St. Peter's was filled to overflowing, and the city, according to St. Paulinus of Nola, was thrown into delightful confusion.

In the middle of the third century the Church of Rome, as we have said already, supported 1,500 poor; the Church of Antioch in the days of St. John Chrysostom, 5,000; that of Constantinople, 3,000. Furthermore, Eusebius relates that it was quite common in his time for one Christian community to assist another which had fallen upon calamity, thus continuing the kindly apostolic tradition. In the fifth century Atticus, Bishop of Constantinople, sent 500 gold pieces to the Church of Nicaea. During the persecutions in Africa under Valerian, the Church of Rome, ever foremost in charity as in honour and jurisdiction, touched by the sufferings of the Christians condemned to the mines (so pathetically described in the letters of St. Cyprian), commissioned deacons, sub-deacons and acolytes to carry to the sufferers, at great personal risk, the alms subscribed for them in Rome. Towards their own poor the Bishops behaved with the utmost self-sacrifice. Cyril of Jerusalem, Acacius, Bishop of Amida,

[1] Const. Apost., 3, 7.

[2] Didache, 1, 5. *ὀυαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρείαν ἔχων λαμβάνει τις, ἀθῷος ἔσται· ὁ δὲ μὴ χρείαν ἔχων δώσει δίκην, ἵνα τί ἔλαβε καὶ εἰς τί· ἐν συνοχῇ δὲ γενόμενος ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ ὧν ἔπραξε, καὶ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκεῖθεν μέχρις οὗ ἀποδῷ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην·*

Deogratias, Bishop of Carthage, sold church ornaments when there was famine in their dioceses. Martin of Tours sacrificed his pontifical robes; Escupère, Bishop of Toulouse, went hungry, and used only basket-work and glass for the service of the altar. The poor could always appeal to the Bishop. Ambrose saved men unjustly condemned to torture; and Basil, like Paul before him, interceded successfully for fugitive or revolted slaves. The pagan prefect paid a generous compliment to the charity of the rulers of the Church when he said to Ambrose, on sending him, still a layman, to the governorship in Gaul: "Govern like a Bishop." The poor, too, could always seek asylum in the Church against the vengeance of the wealthy and the powerful; and even Alaric respected this right of asylum when he sacked Rome. During the persecutions, special alms, at the instigation of the Bishops, were collected for those who were sentenced to the quarries; and Pius I in A.D. 142 orders the Bishop of Vienne to visit the prisons of the saints. "If a Christian," say the Apostolic Constitutions, "is condemned by the pagans to the amphitheatre or the quarries for the name or the love of Jesus Christ, do not abandon him to a disdainful forgetfulness. Take, as the result of your labour and sweat, food and money to soften the brutality of the warders, and to alleviate the dreadful condition of your brother."[1] The law of Licinius forbade these visits to the prisons; but still the Christians came, bringing their doles of food and money, their happy and encouraging talk, striking from a man like Lucian[2] a cry of genuine admiration that they could be met so consistently at the prison gates when they ran the risk of undergoing the cruelty of the mines if they were apprehended in succouring those whom the state had condemned. Indeed, the confessors in prison were regarded with such deep veneration, and the faithful were so anxious to visit and help them, that the severe Tertullian, who was an extreme Montanist,

[1] Const. Apost. 51. [2] Pereg.

complains that, if anything, they were too well treated;[1] and Lucian notices with a touch of sarcasm their " costly meals." When the persecutions ceased, the memory which the Church had of Roman prisons, of their stench, their promiscuity, their savage, immoral inhumanity, led her to insinuate her gentle temper into the laws regarding prisons, and in the Edicts of the Emperors the Governor is instructed to visit them on the Lord's Day, together with the Bishop, in order to receive complaints.

The Church set herself to relieve all manner of misery and destitution, as far as she was able. In the recurring persecutions, Christians who held high command in the army or were important officials in civil employment, were dismissed and reduced to beggary. Domitian, for instance, had in the beginning of his reign surrounded himself with Christians because he could count on their loyalty : when he turned persecutor, these men were cut adrift. Now the Church held that work was a duty, and applied in her discipline that maxim of the Didache[2] which says that no one who refuses to work is to be supported for more than two or three days. The Church was bound to support those who for conscience sake had lost their means of livelihood ; and in the event of their not being able to find suitable employment, the Church again was bound to find it for them. The Christian in such a case could demand work from the Church, and the Church was under an obligation to supply it, a duty fully recognised by St. Cyprian, for instance, when a certain teacher of dramatic art abandoned his profession.[3] Consequently, as Harnack points out, the early Church, in addition to being a charitable society, was a labour-union as well, or, as we should call it to-day, a labour-exchange.

Widows, too, were treated with special kindness, partly in order to render a second marriage unnecessary, and partly because the martyrs were more ready to lay down their lives if they were certain that their families would

[1] De Jejun. xii. [2] Didache, xii. [3] Ep. ii.

not be allowed to starve.[1] Priests and Bishops were ordered to care for widows and orphans, and to see that the Church funds were applied generously to their relief[2] —in the words of Clement, " acting the part of parents to orphans and of husbands to widows."[3] In particular, the Bishop was burdened with the charge of the orphans' education, on the principle freely formulated in the earliest Christian constitutions against the consistent teaching of all pagan philosophy, that everyone, rich and poor, bond and free, had a right to education. Further, prisoners were ransomed from Goths, Vandals and Romans. Numidian robbers were paid 100,000 sesterces by the Church of Carthage,[4] and the Church of Rome sent contributions towards a ransom of Cappadocian Christians captured by the Goths in A.D. 255.[5] St. Melania, on being driven by a storm to the shelter of the Lipari Islands, ransomed, in accordance with her Christian principles, a band of prisoners who had been captured by pirates. And not Christians only were the subjects of charity, but those of other creeds as well, a teaching of St. Cyprian which the Church, in a wise and tolerant compassion, wholeheartedly adopted; and Acacius, Bishop of Amida in A.D. 420, sold consecrated vases to ransom 7,000 Persians who had fallen into the hands of Rome. The attitude of the early Church towards the poor and suffering is admirably summed up in those brave words of Laurence the Deacon, who, on being told by the pagan prefect to produce the ecclesiastical treasures, replied, pointing to the poor : " These are my treasures ! "

After the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 we find the Christians fully conscious of a unity of idea, of faith and brotherhood, among scattered and widely separated communities. But even before the fall of Jerusalem there is clear evidence of a companionship sealed by interest and

[1] Lactantius, Instit. vi. 12.

[2] Some widows lent out on usury the money they received in charity.

[3] Clem. ad Jac. 8. [4] Cyp. Ep. lxii. [5] Basil, Ep. ad Dam. lxx.

intercourse, between the Churches. Ignatius describes his journey as a triumphal progress—the crowds that met and accompanied him on the roads, the deputations that waited on him at Smyrna from Tralles and Magnesia and Ephesus; and Lucian,[1] who was familiar with Christian hospitality, implies by his language "that it seemed to him the crowning proof of the detestable and perverted energy of the sect."[2] To quote again from Prof. Ramsay:[3] "From the words of Basil, *Epist.* 191, it appears that there was an old custom (apparently no longer practised in his time), 'which was once the boast of the Church. Brothers from each Church, travelling from one end of the world to the other, were provided with little tokens (symbola), and found all men fathers and brothers.'" Professor Ramsay likewise thinks it probable that the Tekmoreian Society "may have been founded on the analogy of the Church, separated in its parts but united by constant intercourse and hospitality"; and that in the epitaph discovered at Temenenothyrae—the tomb of Marcus, citizen, philosopher, friend of all—"is summed up the Hellenic reaction."[4] Both from the Pastoral epistles and the Didache it is certain that hospitality in the Christian sense, that is, the entertainment of all and sundry who could present σύμβολα ἐπιμιξίας, proofs of communion, was practised at a very early date. The Didache devotes much attention to its inculcation, and in particular lays stress on the need of caution in dispensing open-handed liberality to strangers who might, after all, be impostors trading on the kindness and simplicity of the faithful, ordering that questions should be put, and stating naively as a rule of prudence that a "prophet" may be regarded as a cheat if during an ecstasy he calls for a meal and eats it, or asks for money.

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[1] De Morte Peregrini, 12, 41.

[2] Ramsay: *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 366.

[3] *Pauline and other Studies*, p. 118.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 118 and 119.

After the Edict of Constantine granting religious toleration, charity, if we may judge from the vigorous expressions of some of the Fathers, seems to have grown cold. But in reality the tepidity was more apparent than real. Large bequests were still made, and made frequently, for the relief of the poor. Melania surrendered her enormous fortune, as did Pammachus, Fabiola, Paulinus of Nola, and others, for the alleviation of distress. The Church, through the generosity of her children, was even becoming rich: a fact which gave a sharp relish to the *mot* of the pagan Praetextatus,—miserabilis Praetextatus qui designatus consul est mortuus, homo sacrilegus et idolorum cultor, solebat ludens beato papae Damaso dicere: "Facite me Romanae ecclesiae episcopum, et ero protinus Christianus."[1] But the increasing numbers, the peace, the easy sense of security, the open, unchallenged absorption of Christians in civic affairs made the contact between rich and poor less constant and personal. Charity became more institutional, too, because the Church had to organise more thoroughly in the new conditions in order to fulfil her mission of mercy. However, as I have said above, private and personal acts of benevolence were by no means uncommon; in fact, the Christians of these days were remarkably like ourselves. The clergy, on the whole, were true to the tradition of hospitality so uncompromisingly stated by St. Jerome. "The layman," he writes, "in receiving one or two strangers fulfils the obligations of hospitality; but the Bishop who does not entertain everyone is unkind in an unnatural way."[2] There was, from time to time, abundant opportunity for the exercise of this virtue; for the invasions of Goths, Vandals, and Lombards, or the persecutions of Arian Emperors like Valens drove the poor from their homes, whence they streamed in starving and panic-stricken multitudes into more peaceful districts. Melania, for example, kept 5,000 monks for five days during the persecution of Valens.

[1] Jer. C. John. Hierol. 8.

[2] Com. in ep. ad Tit., 1

The Church, however, proceeded to express this virtue in institutions. Xenodochia, or guest-houses for strangers, were founded in all parts of the Empire. The inns or hostelries in pagan times were little better than houses of ill-fame, and an interesting passage in the Apostolic Constitutions forbids a priest under the severest penalties to take a meal in a *caupona* without necessity.[1] Constantine and his sons founded xenodochia; Fabiola devoted part of her riches to a hostel at Ostia; there was usually one attached to each monastery: and by the time of Gregory the Great there was a xenodochium in every city of the Empire. Belisarius, when Virgilius was Pope, built a xenodochium on the Via Lata; and Pelagius II, having turned his palace into a refuge for the poor and aged, according to the Liber Pontificalis, served it himself. Gerontocomia, or hostels for aged people, were also common, a fact which may be inferred from a law of Justinian which deals with them. The one on Sinai was famous, and there is extant a letter of Gregory the Great's to Scaurus, the Abbot of the Monastery there, referring to the gifts in money and bedding which he is handing over to the establishment. So deep an impression did this charitable work in particular produce on the pagan mind (chiefly, perhaps, because it ran so directly counter to the pagan outlook which, in Greece, despised the stranger as a βάρβαρος, and in Rome, hated him as an enemy, corroborating the sentiment of Plautus that a man is a wolf to those whom he does not know) that Julian the Apostate, who endeavoured to revive the worship of the gods, ordered Arsacius, High-Priest of Galatia, to found a xenodochium in each city of his province, and support it out of the public funds, in order to rival the work of the Christians. "These godless Galilaeans," he writes, "feed not only their own poor but ours: our poor lack our care." Similarly there were brephotrophia for abandoned infants (probably slave children), and orphanotrophia for the

[1] Const. Apost. 8, 54

upkeep and education of orphans, and ptochotrophia for the destitute poor. At the same time the Christian was advised not to be satisfied with vicarious service, but to perform personal acts of charity. St. John Chrysostom urges each person to turn his house into a miniature xenodochium by setting aside a room for strangers.[1]

The diaconate (called in Greek πτωχοτρόφιον) became a *bureau de charité*. The poor met at an appointed place at a fixed hour and were fed. The agape declined in consequence, and between the sixth and eighth centuries it disappeared, partly because it was no longer needed, and partly because it was sometimes the scene of riotous conduct. But as the agape was often a liturgical function, consisting of a real supper followed by communion (as is shown by a fresco of St. Priscilla at Rome dating from the second century, and by the Canons of Hippolytus, which exclude catechumens from being present at it), so in the organised deaconries of the emancipated Church the custom was continued of holding religious exercises in the oratory before each meal. One such oratory, reaching the dimensions of a chapel, Sancta Maria Antiqua, splendidly decorated in marble and fresco, was discovered in the Forum in 1902. Church lands were applied to their support, certain farms being allotted to certain deaconries; and Gregory the Great, having by practical good sense, energy, and sound business capacity improved the administration of the Church's patrimony, devoted the whole of its revenue to the relief of the poor.[2] Legacies or bequests made by generous Catholics were handed over to the deacons, and we read that St. Melania on arriving at Jerusalem placed the remainder of her vast wealth at the disposal of the deacons for distribution among the poor.[3]

[1] In act. Don. 45, 3.

[2] The patrimony of the Church at this time amounted to about 1,800 square miles of land, chiefly in Sicily and Campania.

[3] Gregory the Great ordained that deacons should not sing in the church, but should save their voices for the ministry of preaching and their time for the care of the poor.

The Bishops were the administrators of these ecclesiastical funds, a relic of old Roman usage respecting collegia, by which the temporal goods of a community were invested in the legal head; and special lawyers were appointed to defend the patrimony of the poor.

Previous to the Edict of Constantine the sick were nursed in their own homes by charitable persons who volunteered their services; but on the conclusion of peace between the Church and the State this form of charity, too, became institutionalised. Hospitals are met first in the East, where the hermit Thalassius, who lived in a village on the Euphrates, built a hospital for his blind countrymen and served it himself. Soon after hospitals were founded at Alexandria and Ephesus; six were established at Constantinople by St. John Chrysostom and Pulcheria—multa publica hospitum et pauperum domicilia. In the sixth century St. Samson founded one near St. Sophia. In the West they came later, the first being founded about A.D. 400 by Fabiola. "She first of all," writes St. Jerome, "established a nosocomium to gather in the sick from the streets and to nurse the wretched sufferers wasted by poverty and disease."[1] Here the most repulsive diseases were attended to. "Many times have I seen her," says Palladius in the Dialogues, "carrying on her shoulders poor folk in a disgusting state of filth. How often has one seen her wash wounds which gave forth such smells that one could scarcely look at them."[2] Pammachus built a hospital at Porto; Pope Symmachus founded hospitals in connection with St. Peter's, St. Paul's and St. Laurence's; and, as a general rule, hospitals adjoined churches and were administered by the clergy. The Theodosian Code contains a law which runs thus: "For the guild of infirmarians we ordain that they be established to the number of six hundred. Let them be chosen from those who have acquired most experience in this kind of service."[3] At Alexandria the choice of infirmarians rested

[1] Ep. 77 ad Oceanum. [2] viii. [3] Bk. xviii.

with the Bishop, under whose direction they lived as a sort of religious community, thus anticipating the Sisters of Charity and other similar institutions.

The most famous charitable foundation of antiquity was that established by St. Basil the Great near his episcopal city of Caesarea. He was accused of squandering all the diocesan funds on its maintenance : and such dimensions did it assume that the city moved from its original site and grouped itself around the Basilias. It was a hospital with a large staff of nurses, physicians, stretcher-bearers, and attendants for the blind ; a guest-house where work was provided for the inmates, the proceeds from which went to the upkeep of this department ; an industrial school where children were taught a trade ; a lazar for the treatment of lepers. Its numerous streets, its squares and massive blocks of buildings struck those who saw it with amazement. It organised charity as thoroughly and as scientifically as it has been organised by the painstaking philanthropy of the twentieth century.

Thus Christianity, which was primarily a religion holding its members together by a sacramentum or oath, and in its social aspect not a collection of collegia (as Mgr. Batiffol has decisively shown), but a unity of kindness and fellow-feeling among scattered provincial churches, struggled bravely under difficult circumstances with the physical ills of the human race. Politically and socially, then, the Catholic Church, by the teaching and practice of this healing virtue, merits highly of modern civilisation. The Roman world had degenerated sadly from the days when silver only shone on the Roman arms ; but in the weighty judgment of Professor Ramsay, " Christianity, if adopted in time, might have prevented the ruin of the Empire."[1] As the Annals of the Propagation of the Faith are a noble continuation of the Acta Martyrum, so Catholic societies like that of St. Vincent de Paul are evidence that the spirit of

[1] *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 360.

genuine Apostolic charity still works in the world: and the Catholic Church through her charitable organisations, directed by a long-tested and wide experience, sustained by an honourable tradition, corresponding each with each in an interchange of mercy, may be helping to ward off from European civilisation some dreadful result similar to that in which the Roman Empire closed. However that may be, we Catholics have inherited a tradition and an ideal, and it becomes us here in Ireland to pass on from hand to hand, like the runners in the Greek game, the brightly-burning torch. "Mea est possessio," says Tertullian, in the stately Latin of which he is an incomparable master, "olim possideo. Habeo origines firmas, ab ipsis auctoribus quorum fuit res: ego sum haeres apostolorum. Sicut caverunt testamento suo, sicut fidei commiserunt, sicut adiuraverunt, ita teneo." J. E. Canavan.

IN THE QUIET HOURS

IN the quiet hours before stars shine,
When soft grey hoods of silence cover the hills,
Leaves and all the wings of birds are still,
Only on wings that make no sound bats flit,
Or moths' dumb wings drift by; dreams come then
Like evening garmented—grey, quiet dreams,
That make no chatter, but are still as sleep,
The druid sleep of trees quiet has touched
And no leaf stirs until the lark's song and
The spears of dawn break the enchantment; shyly
To my threshold they come creeping; shyly
Lift the latch and sit them by the fire,
From the quiet hours before stars shine
Through the quiet hours of stars, until my heart
Is brimmed and stilled with the soundless murmur of
Their tranquil conversation, and is peaceful
As the motionless still skies October clouds
At evening muffle—still grey skies, or as
The silent pool where forest leaves lie drowned.

Cathaoir O Braonain.

TRIOLETS

THE shadows of the pagan night
Were pierced on Christmas morn,
And fled in horror and affright;
The shadows of the pagan night
Reeled as He rose, the Lord of Light,
To bless a world new-born.
The shadows of the pagan night
Were pierced on Christmas morn.

The star that shone o'er Bethlehem
Was dimmed on Calvary;
When Hell's black host to battle came
The star that shone o'er Bethlehem
Paled like the young moon's crescent flame
Beyond a storm-tossed sea.
The star that shone o'er Bethlehem
Was dimmed on Calvary.

Till Easter's dawn brought Hope's dear ray
To gladden Earth again,
And drive the gloom of sin away;
Till Easter's dawn brought Hope's dear ray,
That failed that bitter passion day
And fled from guilty men.
The Easter's dawn brought Hope's dear ray
To gladden Earth again.

HELEN PUNCH.

THE FISHERMAN

THE white clouds leap up in majestic masses
Out of the blue sea into the blue sky;
All quietly their beauty fades and passes,
Leaving within my hollow heart the cry
Of a twin-beauty that shall never die.

In this great hour I pulse with mystery . . .
I glimpse a fisherman alone and dumb
Upon the shore, as if the sky and he
Were conscious of an age about to come
When they would mingle silently and turn
Part of this beauty, leaving us, who live
In pride of painted emptiness, to yearn
Still groping in a world so fugitive.

HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA.

A PRAYER FOR LIGHT AND PEACE

Through the bowels of the mercy of our God, in which the Orient from on high hath visited us; to enlighten them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death: to direct our feet in the way of peace. (St. Luke, 1, 78–79).

GUIDE, Lord, for darkness reigns—this night dispel;
Guide Thou and save!
We hope in Thee, we front the gates of hell;
Guide Thou and save!
Our souls to ransom, penance Thou didst dree:
We hide in death's dread shadow: set us free!

Thou, Very God, didst take our flesh and blood
The world to save,
Tho' shrinking, didst refuse nor bitter rood
Nor death nor grave.
Full weak we are; nought can withstand Thy Love—
Speed forth Thy kindly Spirit from above!

Yea, Dayspring from on high, in mercy come
To guide and save:
Oh, keep our steps within the path to Home,
And Thou shalt save!
Upon Thy children shine and give surcease
Of sorrow: Father, send us light and peace!

MICHAEL J. WATSON, S.J.

UNPUBLISHED IRISH POEMS

XXI—The Poet insists on his rights

EDITED BY PROFESSOR OSBORN BERGIN, PH.D.

This poem belongs to the close of the sixteenth century; for Aodh, to whom it is addressed, succeeded his father, Cú Chonnacht, in 1589, and was killed in 1600 during the campaign in Munster which is the subject of Poem XV. O Heóghusa complains that his farm is in a disturbed district, and requests, or rather demands, that his chief should give him another, where he will be free from raids from Tirconnell and Tyrone, and under Maguire's own protection. It is a good example of the calm self-confidence of the literary classes under the old regime.

The text is from the Book of the O'Conor Don. Unfortunately the copy is incomplete. Apart from the fact that no poem could end in this abrupt fashion, the metrical requisite called *dúnadh*, or "close," by which the last word or syllable of a poem is the same as the first, is wanting.

O Heóghusa .i. Eochaidh cct.

1. T'aire riomsa a rí[1] ó nUidhir,
   égnach cáigh ní cuirthi a suim,
   an uair nach éisde ret fhilidh,
   a éisge shluaigh[2] chinidh Chuinn.

2. Iomdha agam, a fhir chumtha,
   cás égnaigh, dá n-éisde rinn;
   dá mbeinn dod[3] ghnúis dreachnáir diomdhach,
   is cúis neamhcháir t'innlach inn.

3. Fuarus, a rí fhréimhe hUidhir,
   fearann Corráin na ccíoch ngorm
   ód ghnúis tonnghlain ar lí lasrach,
   gan ní ar tolmhain[4] d'aslach orm.

4. Gidh eadh, atáid ar tí ar mbuana,
   buidhne[5] iomdha, a ua na ríogh,
   ag cur um cheann d'aonghuth uile,
   baoghlach leam gach duine dhíobh.

5. Ní bhíom lá idir laochraidh Corráin
   gan crois chugam ón chaoir shluaigh,
   dá bhfuilnge rí Gabhra a ghabháil,
   ní tarbha ní d'fhagháil uaidh.

[1] riogh MS. [2] ésga shluaidh MS. [3] dot MS. [4] talmhain MS. [5] buighne MS.

6. Do ghlór éinfhir as é adeirid
mar dhíoghuil orm, olc do-níd,
cnuic ané ba fearonn faolchon,
nach treabhonn mé ar aonchor iad.

7. Dá ccreideadh sliocht Aodha an einigh
m'fhearonn uaid, a abhra mall,
dá mbeinn gan tairmeasc ar talmhain,
dob aimhleasg leinn anmhain ann.

8. Cladh tórann la tíribh foghladh,
fód comhraic na cceithre rian,
ród ríogh a ccinnionn gach congháir,
imioll nár dhíol roghráidh riamh.

9. Dá tharbha fós ní fríth linne
leth ar chaillios re cion luircc,
ní bhí ráithe gan raon ccreachlorg,
snáithe caol re leathbhord Luirg.

10. Bíodh nach baoghlach bheith 'na bhfochair,
fine Conuill is clann Néill,
aicme Chorráin is daor dhamhsa
's commbáidh bhur maor bhfallsa féin.

11. Fearonn oile a n-égmhais[1] Chorráin,
ó's chuige atá ar tharruing mé,
ní mór dhamhsa, [is] Aodh 'na fhochair,
asna caol gan fhothain é.

12. Muna bhfaghthar fearonn oile
d'áit innill[2] ót érla nocht,
dá ttí síon fhaobhrach an earraigh,
baoghlach díol an eallaigh ort.

13. Tusa chuirfios crodh 'na n-ionadh,
a ua Mhagnuis nár mhaoith guin ;
munab olc leibhse[3] a n-ég aguinn,
créd fá mbeinnsi ag cagaill chruidh?

14. Uaid fuarus a bhfuil um urláimh,
ort iarrfad a n-iarrfa sinn,
léig do chioth an cradh[4] nó caomhnaidh
ní díoth dhamh gan aonbhoin inn.

[1] bhfégmhais MS. [2] ingheilt MS. [3] libhse MS. [4] crodh MS.

Translation

1. Attend to me, thou chief of the descendants of Odhar; the rebuke of others thou needst not heed, when thou dost not lend an ear to thy poet, O moon of the host of Conn's race!

2. If thou lend an ear to me, my friend, I have many a ground for complaint: were I displeased with thy noble countenance, it were unjust to slander thee for that.

3. I have got, O prince of Odhar's race, from thy smooth-skinned countenance brilliant as flame, the land of Corrán of blue swelling hills, no payment in the world being exacted from me.

4. Yet there are many bands about to reap me, thou offspring of princes, all with one voice opposing me, every man of them is a danger to me.

5. Not a day do I spend among the warriors of Corrán without some prohibition reaching me from the fiery host. If the prince of Gabhair[1] allow it to be taken away, there is no profit in getting anything from him.

6. With one voice they vengefully assert, these evildoers, that I am not by any means the tiller of hills which but yesterday were the habitation of wolves.

7. Yet if the race of generous Aodh believed that my land came from thee, O thou of the stately brow, even if I were free from any disturbance in the world, I should be loth to remain here.

8. A fence that borders on the lands of marauders, a spot where four tracks meet, a king's high road where every tumult settles—this is a neighbourhood that was never a mark for great love.

9. In profit therefrom I have never got half what I lost through armed forces; not a quarter passes without the trail of plundering bands—it is a fine thread against the border of Lurg.[2]

10. Even if it were no risk for me to dwell near the Race of Conall and the Children of Niall, the people of Corrán cost me dear, and the alliance of your own false stewards.

11. Another farm away from Corrán—as that is the import of my sketch—I require, and Aodh beside it; 'tis but a lean rib if unsheltered.

12. If another farm in a secure spot be not obtained from the prince of the bare locks, when the keen spring weather comes, I fear thou must pay for the cattle.

13. 'Tis thou that wilt put cattle in their place, O descendant of Maghnus, whose strokes were ungentle; if thou carest not that they die in my hands, why should I spare my cattle?

14. From thee I have got all that is mine: from thee I shall seek what I shall seek. Let the cattle perish (?) or save them; it is no loss to me to be without a single cow.

OSBORN BERCIN.

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[1] There are several places of this name. Probably a complimentary reference to the one near Tara is intended.

[2] Either Lurg in Fermanagh, or Moylurg, in MacDermott's territory in Ros common.

AN IRISH AMBASSADOR AT THE SPANISH COURT, 1569-1574

BY DANIEL A. BINCHY, M.A.

IV—Stukely in Madrid: The Quarrel with MacGibbon

ABOUT the middle of October, 1569, Stukely was released from prison on parole. For the remaining months of the year we know nothing of his activities. He may have spent his time interviewing the various chieftains and securing their approval of his intended mission to Spain. For an account of the events immediately preceding his departure we are indebted to a mariner and a servant who accompanied him to Spain and who, on their return, were examined as to his movements. On February 1, 1570, he purchased by means of Alessandro Fideli an English ship, the *Trinity* of Bridgewater. By a strange caprice of fortune this was one of the vessels which had been chartered by Sir Peter Carew when commissioned to lay hold of his cousin and the pirate fleet which he commanded. Stukely himself arrived at Waterford on March 13th, on the 25th he shipped his mariners, and on the 28th fourteen horses. Amongst those who accompanied him were two O'Neills, a Geraldine, a Magennis, a MacPhilip, and a "Murty Paddy"—all of them persons of small importance. Why they should have chosen to sail with him it is difficult to say; quite possibly they believed that the ship was bound for England. This was vehemently affirmed by the mariner and servant who subsequently supplied the information,[2] and who were naturally anxious to exculpate themselves from any

[1] For Parts I, II and III see issues of Sept. and Dec. 1921 and March, 1922.

[2] "None of his company did understand his pretence towards Spain, saving one Robert Penn, pilot of the ship, and Alexander Fideli." The latter was Stukely's Italian servant.

shred of complicity. It must be noted, however, that their account tallies with that afterwards furnished by the Archbishop of Cashel, which runs as follows :—" He took on board some men, sent by their Irish masters to ask forgiveness of certain things of which they had been accused and to implore pardon of the queen ; others of their own free will, who had business in England, got into the same vessel. All were deceived ; for after sailing from Waterford harbour, with the intention of going to England, he brought them here to Spain."[1]

By the beginning of April the ship was ready to weigh anchor ; but the adventurer's business in Ireland was not yet quite finished. From Waterford he hastened back to the midlands, and about a week later came to the Earl of Kildare's house at Kilkea. What transpired at the interview between them can never be known for certain ; but from the limited evidence at our disposal it is not unfair to suppose that the timorous descendant of Garret Mor and Silken Thomas was again coquetting with Spain. This ominous visit did not pass unnoticed, and when five years later the Earl was arrested upon suspicion of treasonable dealings at home and abroad, this was one of the first matters laid to his charge. Asked if Stukely was closeted with him at Kilkea he did not attempt to deny the fact, but declared that there was no secret conference between them.[2]

Having transacted his business with the Earl, Stukely returned to Waterford, and on the 17th of April the good ship *Trinity* sailed out of the harbour. A week later she landed at the port of Vivero in Galicia, having successfully avoided the attentions of the English privateers. The coast of Galicia was not unknown to Stukely ; in former days he had touched at this very port of Vivero with a very different object in view. He disembarked

[1] *Spic. Oss.* I., 69.

[2] Interrogatories for the Earl of Kildare, *Hist. MSS.* Comm., Cecil MSS., pt. 2 Answers of the E. of Kildare, *Spic. Oss.* III., 23.

his men and sent Alessandro Fideli and Robert Digby, his steward, on a mission to King Philip, who was spending a brief holiday in Seville, bidding them

report to his Majesty the nobleman's arrival in the said port and the cause of his coming, to wit, that on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland, he was come to supplicate his Majesty to have compassion on so many lives and souls that were being lost for lack of aid by any Christian prince; and that, if he would, he could at very little cost reclaim that kingdom to the Holy Catholic Church, to the obedience of which it was wont to be subject, and to which the good people, who were very numerous, wished to return, chiefly for the weal of their souls and the security of their lives and goods, which they were losing, to the singular ignominy of Catholic princes.[1]

We cannot but be struck by the absence of all reference to the sovereignty of Ireland to be vested in Philip; but as this account was intended for the Vatican, it is more than probable that Stukely coloured the wording of his message to the king to suit the occasion. In reality, he must have made very definite proposals, and it may not be going too far to conclude that he offered to conquer Ireland for Philip, provided he was well paid for his trouble. For the king's ear was not likely to be caught by vague platitudes about the duty of Catholic princes, such as he had heard a hundred times before from the Archbishop of Cashel.

The King [again we quote from Stukely himself] most graciously entertained and heard the said gentlemen, and afterwards sent them back to their lord with his command that he should remain in Vivero, disembark his people and artillery, and bring the ship ashore for her better preservation; and meanwhile he said he would return to Castile, where he would treat of this business.[1]

The spy Huggins gave a somewhat similar account. Writing on August 12th to Sir Henry Norris, he announces the arrival of Stukely in Spain "with a great ship and many gentlemen." He adds, further, that the king gave Stukely through his messenger "a great chain, and money, and a special commission to be furnished of all he wants."

[1] "Mr. Stukle's Narrative" (*Rome Cal.* I., 381).

But this was the least important portion of Huggins's information. Stukely, he said, had already made "an offer to the king about the conquest of Ireland"; and an Italian—this was Alessandro Fideli—"had brought letters from certain noblemen of that country concerning the same."[1] Some months later Walsingham in Paris heard even more alarming news: that Stukely, on his arrival, had presented to the King of Spain "an instrument not only subscribed by most part of the Irish nobility but also by divers in England of good quality, ready to be at his devotion."[2] Both stories are probably exaggerated, though from what we have witnessed of his intrigue with the Earl of Kildare, it seems quite possible that the adventurer brought letters from some persons at least in Ireland expressing their attachment to the Spanish king.

But Philip, although he had displayed the utmost courtesy to the Englishman's messengers, was not to be stirred from his wonted caution. Stukely remained at Vivero without any further communication, while (as he himself conjectured)[2] the king made careful enquiries as to his general reputability. The most amazing thing in all these proceedings is that we find not a single reference to the murderous exploits in former days of the man who now offered his services. It is too much to believe that the depredations committed by Stukely upon Spanish shipping during those years when his name was a by-word throughout Europe, should have escaped Philip's memory. Did not the king himself write specially to his ambassador, bidding him leave no stone unturned to secure condign punishment for this redoubtable pirate? The mystery of this unusually forgiving spirit, therefore, cannot be satisfactorily solved. Perhaps it was that Philip's hatred of Elizabeth was great enough to eclipse the temporary resentment which he had entertained

[1] *For. Cal.* 1569-71, p. 345.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 402, Walsingham to Cecil, Feb., 1571.

against her restless subject, when the latter proffered himself as an instrument for her harm. Whatever was the explanation, however, the accounts which the king received of Stukely were uniformly flattering. The ambassador in London and his secretary, Antonio de Guaras, both pointed out the importance of aiding the Irish rebels and the fitness of Stukely for this purpose. "In Ireland," wrote De Spes, "most of the nation will rise as soon as they see your Majesty's standard borne by ships on their coast, and no resistance would be made excepting in Dublin and some other fortresses. With the advice of Stukely and others . . . a commencement might be effected." De Guaras declared that he knew him for "an excellent Christian, much attached to his Majesty's service," and that, "as the Irish are nearly all Catholics and attached to the king, being the natural enemies of the English, his Majesty might more easily begin war there than elsewhere." To Cayas, the King's Secretary of State, De Guaras unbosomed himself at greater length :—

> They are in great fear [he wrote from London on June 30th] that some trouble will come to them through Ireland ; for it is certain that the whole of that island is deeply attached to our King, all the people being Catholics, excepting the English whom the Queen has there, who do not amount to 1,500 men, scattered in various places, few of whom have any experience of defence. In Ireland there is no force of importance. It is the best soil in the world, with excellent ports, and if the people were only in subjection, it would be a very rich and flourishing country. The whole of it could be overrun and subdued, especially by the great help which our people would receive as your worship will be better informed by Thomas Stukely, an English gentleman, who is going to Spain.[1]

Notwithstanding these unimpeachable testimonials, Philip still suspected treachery. There was a possibility—although a faint one—that Stukely was in the pay of the government against which he so loudly declaimed, and

[1] *Spanish Cal.*, 1568-70, pp. 246, 252, 256.

the king was not inclined to ignore this possibility. His suspicions were increased by an announcement in one of Don Gueran's dispatches that "the Queen had received a letter from Stukely who was sailing from Ireland." It seemed strange that a man who was fleeing to Spain in order to plot for the destruction of England should have any message to send to his Sovereign. Philip had no intention of allowing the matter to lapse, and instructed Don Gueran to discover its contents. He added that it would be also well to find out "whether they have taken his property or made any declaration against him, and what they think of his coming to Galicia, where he is now."[1] The ambassador was unable to secure any account of the letter, which was probably nothing more important than a magniloquent recital of the writer's services to Elizabeth and the ingratitude with which he was treated. But he was able to reassure the king that Stukely's property had been seized, although he had not been proclaimed a traitor; and that the government were in great alarm about Ireland since his departure. "All the people," he adds, "wish to be subject to your Majesty, and it is believed that Stukely went to beg you to accept the island."[2]

Shortly afterwards Don Gueran recorded further evidence in Stukely's favour, this time from an important and rather unexpected source. It will be remembered that for three years the Earl of Desmond and his two brothers had been imprisoned in the Tower, awaiting Elizabeth's decision as to their future, while at home the tireless Fitzmaurice waged unceasing war against the English. In the autumn of 1570, the Queen was pleased to release them, and they were placed under the surveillance of Sir Warham St. Leger, with whom they were already only too well acquainted. By a strange chance, the man to whose charge they were committed, whether through dissatisfaction with his government or in an

[1] *Spanish Cal.*, pp. 247, 260. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 275.

attempt to bluff the Catholic king, was engaged in an intrigue with Spain.[1] Philip's ambassador, during one of his secret visits to St. Leger's house, met the three Irishmen who professed themselves devoted adherents of his master, and were loud in praise of Stukely, "whom they consider to be a man capable of great things."[2] The fact that they had never met or perhaps even heard of him before did not deter them from lauding him to the skies; all they knew was that a well-known Englishman had fled to Spain and was intriguing for a Spanish force to drive the English out of Ireland; but this of itself was amply sufficient to secure their goodwill.

One other important voice was added to the general chorus of praise. Stukely had landed at Vivero just at the moment when the Archbishop of Cashel was smarting under the double censure of his friends in Ireland and of his spiritual superiors in Rome. MacGibbon welcomed the new arrival as a *deus ex machina* whose intervention would solve all his troubles. With his usual hasty optimism, he concluded that this man, whom he had never seen and whose history was entirely unknown to him, would prove a valuable ally in rousing Philip to action and in completely vindicating his mission to Spain. In his letter to Philip of July 26, 1570, which was mentioned at the conclusion of my second article, he again urged upon the king the necessity of aiding the Irish, and continued as follows:—

> Your Majesty has now a good opportunity of so doing by taking advantage of the arrival of that Englishman, Thomas Stukely, who has received such insults from his own countrymen that he will not fail to do them all the harm he can. He is a very daring man, clever in war matters, in which he has been engaged most of his life. He is well acquainted with our own country, with its forts and harbours; and I have been informed that he has brought with him experienced mariners from all parts of Ireland [3]

Even Philip was convinced, by such universal agree-

[1] Cf. *Spanish Cal.*, p. 246. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 279. [3] *Spic. Oss.*, I., 63.

ment, that Stukely's offer should not be refused. One question, however, still troubled him: could he receive Stukely without immediately imperilling the show of friendly relations which he wished to maintain with Elizabeth? The matter was deliberated by the Council of State, and on two occasions the Archbishop of Cashel was called before the ministers. He urged with all the force of which he was capable that Stukely be summoned and the Irish enterprise begun as soon as possible.[1]

The Council, who did not share their sovereign's anxiety for an understanding with Elizabeth, lent a ready ear to the Irish envoy; and, on their recommendation, Philip at last decided to receive the stranger. On August 4th, Stukely was apprised of his decision by a messenger from Madrid, who brought a gift of one thousand dollars from the king; and on the 18th of August he set out for the Court.[2] At Valladolid he was met by a member of the royal suite, a gentleman of Aragon, Don Francisco Merles, knight of the Order of St. James, who occupied the position of his Majesty's taster, and whom Philip had instructed to welcome his guest—"to lodge and regale him free of charge, and keep him company, and cause him to be waited on, and treat him with all manner of courtesy."[3] In this princely fashion he travelled by easy stages to the Spanish capital, which he reached towards the end of August. On his arrival he was treated with almost royal honours; the king assigned him a pension of 3,000 ducats, besides the expenses of his lodging; and a sumptuous palace was set apart for his residence. Fortune had once more smiled on the hardy adventurer.

If we are to believe the account which Walsingham afterwards received from the Archbishop of Cashel, Stukely,

[1] Huggins to Norris, Aug. 12th; Norris to Queen, Sept. 22nd (*For. Cal.*, 1569-71, pp. 316, 345).

[2] *MSS., Irel.*, May 2, 1571.

[3] "Mr. Stukle's Narrative" (*Rome Cal.* I.).

"before he had any conference with the king or any great personage, sent unto the said Archbishop to desire to come and speak with him." The Irish envoy returned an answer that, "if he would come unto him, he would be very welcome." So much of MacGibbon's account may be accepted as true; but what followed we know by other evidence to have been an absolute perversion of the facts, designed to impose upon the wily English ambassador. Stukely, continued the Archbishop, then repaired to his house, and having professed the most lively gratification at meeting one whom he knew to be "Catholickly bent," unfolded his plan "about the reducing of Ireland," and besought him to procure him access to the king by means of Cardinal Spinosa, President of the Council. This the prelate declined to do, stating that "he for his own part, though he desired the Catholic religion to be there planted, yet did he mislike of the means, for that he would be loath to see his country under any other government than that of the Queen's Majesty and her successors"—a rather astounding allegation from a man who had spent over a year plotting to undermine that government! And, accordingly, Stukely was constrained to apply to the Duke of Feria, who brought him to the king.[1] When we remember that this account was given by the Archbishop in the midst of his attempt to ingratiate himself with Elizabeth, we may well question his veracity. If, as he asserted, he refused to secure an interview with the king for Stukely, it must have been for reasons very different from that which he afterwards alleged. His letter to Philip was ample evidence of the joy with which he hailed the Englishman's arrival, and if further proof is required, it is supplied by the testimony of the papal nuncio, Monsignor Castagna, who about six months later definitely stated that Stukely had been brought to his house and introduced to him by the Archbishop, "who was then his friend."

[1] Walsingham to Burghley, March 26, 1571 (*Compleat Ambassador*, pp. 58-61).

Stukely's negotiations with the Nuncio have a religious rather than a political significance. Shortly after his arrival in Madrid, Archbishop MacGibbon conducted him to Castagna's residence, and introduced him as a distinguished Englishman and a friend of the Catholic cause in Ireland. After mutual courtesies had been exchanged, Stukely penitently informed the Nuncio that for many years he had mingled with the heretics in Ireland, and had been "present at many of their diabolical functions," only with the intent, however, "to save his life, goods, and estate, and not of his own pleasure and predilection." He now begged for absolution from all the censures which he might have incurred by his former conduct, and his request was warmly supported by the Archbishop of Cashel.[1] The Nuncio, however, was unable to gratify their wish; he had not the faculties to absolve in such a grave case; and he could only promise to use his influence at Rome on behalf of Stukely.

We do not know whether it was before or after this interview that Stukely was admitted to the king's presence. He was received "with every token of gracious regard," and Philip listened with attention to an extraordinary story which was more than three-parts false. Stukely drew a rosy picture of all Ireland rising in his favour as soon as he set foot in that country, where "he would encounter no resistance whatever and might occupy any of the ports at his option," and where he would soon have at his command an army of 25,000 or 30,000 foot, provided the king furnished him with eight or ten thousand foot and a thousand horse. It was also necessary that he should go forward with the express sanction of his Holiness or his Catholic Majesty—he did not seem to be particular as to which—for otherwise the Irish might not welcome his coming, "fearing lest he should be going to make himself king." If his requests were granted, he would overrun the island in a very

[1] Mgr. Castagna to Card Alessandrino, Feb. 5, 1571 (*Rome Cal.* I., 376).

few days, and build fortresses at the entrances to the various ports so strong that "the fleets of the two realms of England would not be able to force an entrance." In pledge of their good faith, the Irish nobility would give some of the sons of their chief men as hostages while he himself offered his son William, "a lad of excellent disposition and great promise."[1]

Whether the shrewd Philip believed Stukely or not is immaterial. At all events he realised that this desperado might be used to very good purpose both against Elizabeth and against the more extreme Irish nationalists. For the latter he had no love; in the first place their continuous and open importunities tended to embroil him further with the English; secondly, they wished for immediate aid, regardless of the delicacy of the king's position; lastly and most important of all, they claimed his support on high religious grounds, leaving the question of recognising his sovereignty so vague as to afford him good reason for uneasiness.[2]

The Catholic king was no altruist. His zeal for religion was tempered by practical considerations of loss or gain; and it seemed to him that the Irish nationalists represented by Archbishop MacGibbon had little intention of recognising him as sovereign when he had driven out the English. True, they had offered him a power of appointment to the Irish throne; but he did not see why a prince of the royal house should be preferred before the monarch by whose arm they had been liberated. This alone would have probably sufficed to prevent him from granting MacGibbon's request for aid, that is, unless they had definitely consented to recognise his sovereignty; but the complications introduced by his desire for a temporary *rapprochement* with England and his strained relations with the Vatican had for the moment destroyed all chances of intervention, even if such a guarantee were given by the Irish chiefs.

[1] "Mr. Stukle's Narrative." [2] *Ibid.*, 379-85.

Yet Philip did not wish to lose sight of Ireland. If the negotiations with Elizabeth proved abortive, and if his differences with the Papacy were settled, that disturbed island would be an invaluable bulwark against English expansion as well as a bright jewel in the Spanish crown. Accordingly his ambassador was instructed to keep him fully informed of the progress of Irish affairs. "I desire," he wrote to Don Gueran, "to have full information with regard to the state of things in Ireland, and what forces the Catholics of the country have against the heretic English. I also wish to know if they would be parties to expelling them, and what leaders the Catholics have who could be made much of. Make every effort to investigate this thoroughly and report to me by the first opportunity." [1] This was written in 1569, and ever since De Spes had conscientiously detailed all the Irish news he could secure.

The king's interest was now quickened by the arrival of Stukely, in whom he saw a fitting instrument for carrying out his policy towards Ireland. The Englishman was daring, clever, unscrupulous and able; he was untrammelled by any irritating sense of nationalism, and he was too deeply compromised ever to hope for pardon from Elizabeth. His offer had been definite: given a certain amount of help, he would conquer Ireland for Philip. Perhaps he cherished a hope that the government of the country might be entrusted to him as Viceroy by a grateful sovereign, or perhaps he only looked for a respectable wage from the Spanish treasury. At all events, it was clear that he was nothing more than an adventurer; and this was the very kind of man who could serve Philip best in the matter. If the proposed negotiations with the English queen grew into a tangible agreement, the king could dismiss Stukely as a mere private individual who represented nobody save himself; on the other hand, if they ended in failure through Elizabeth's insincerity he might be employed in Ireland,

[1] *Spanish Cal.*, 1568-79, p. 209.

where he would be deterred by no awkward sense of nationalism from making his master sovereign. In the meantime, while the issue was in doubt, his presence at Court would serve as an intimation of what Spain was capable of doing were she again falsely dealt with; and it would also serve to annoy the king's "dear sister" intensely—an occupation in which Philip took a most unkingly delight.

Thus did the king decide, and for the English adventurer his decision was a happy one. Honours were lavished upon Stukely; he received a princely allowance from the royal purse, which he squandered with all his accustomed prodigality, so much so that the Archbishop of Cashel afterwards calculated his expenditure at thirty ducats a day.[1] Many of the courtiers became his friends; and conspicuous amongst them was the Duke of Feria, a former ambassador in England and a man of considerable influence in the counsels of his sovereign. It is possible that he had met Stukely at Mary's court; certainly his wife and Stukely were acquaintances of long standing. Lady Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria, had been a maid of honour to Mary Tudor and was now the prime mover in the numerous Catholic plots which were hatched against Elizabeth's government by English exiles in Spain and the Netherlands.[2] She and her husband had immediately befriended the adventurer, and their social influence was sufficiently great to secure for their protégé an entry into the most exclusive society in Madrid. Stukely's elation knew no bounds; and for some time Spain was filled with reports of his ludicrous boastings and empty threats against the English Queen. At the court he was known generally as the Duke of Ireland, and was entitled to take precedence with other Dukes.

Secretary Cayas pressed him to give in writing a list of his possessions in Ireland; and although he had not

[1] *Compleat Ambass.*, p. 59.

[2] *Cf.* Clifford, *Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria.*

an acre of land in that country, the audacious liar calmly furnished the minister with the following inventory of the estates which belonged to him : " The castle and town of Wexford and the whole county, the castle of Carlow and the whole county, and the ancient kingdom of Leinster, for which he had paid 22,000 pound in one day, but which was taken from him because he was a Catholic ! " No falsehood was too great, no boast too ridiculous for the newly promoted Duke of Ireland. His cousin, Sir Peter Carew, was content with claiming half a province ; but nothing less than a kingdom would satisfy Stukely's pretensions. We can well imagine the sentiments with which the Earl of Kildare, to take but a single example, would have listened to the story of such claims on the part of a man whom but a few months before he had seen as a penniless ex-prisoner. The admiring Spaniards accepted his enormous lies without demur ; and emboldened by their credulity, he grew still more extravagant in his assertions. He would make Alessandro Fideli as good a lord as Cecil ; he would be master of Ireland by the end of the year and would eat his Christmas pie with the Lord Deputy. For the moment he had little concern with England, though he talked of replacing Elizabeth by the good queen of Scots ; the conquest of Ireland was at the present uppermost in his thoughts.

For my part [he said on one occasion] I hate an Englishman as I hate a dog ; for if ever I be betrayed I shall be betrayed by them. But Ireland is the country that I and my child must stick to ; for I must live by them and they by me. For there will I build a fair Abbey, and have in it twenty-four friars, one of them to pray for me every hour of the day and night. And there will I be buried.[1]

The Archbishop of Cashel had been watching the progress of events with an uneasy eye. He was the accredited representative of the Irish confederates, and for over twelve months he had been recognised as the

[1] Deposition and Confession of James Rigby, *Domestic MSS.*, August 29, 1571. Cf. *Dom. Cal.*, 1547-80, p. 420.

ambassador of Ireland. He now beheld this unknown Englishman, whom in a moment of folly he himself had hailed as a deliverer and whose prosperity was due in part to his efforts, climbing higher and higher on the ladder of success, and reaching a position of power and influence which the legitimate envoy had never attained. His uneasiness deepened with every fresh instance of royal favour to Stukely. Soon he found that his position was being gradually usurped by Stukely; the latter was overwhelmed with marks of consideration, while the poor Archbishop found himself ignored and even slighted. From our knowledge of Stukely's character, we may well suppose that he for his part, having used MacGibbon to secure his advancement, treated him with an insolent disdain which stung him to the quick.

But the root cause of the quarrel was far deeper than any personal animosity. The Archbishop of Cashel was the champion of Irish nationality; his message was from the chiefs of the south, who were fighting for religious and political freedom, and who desired an independent kingdom rather than autonomy under Philip's suzerainty. The man who had now ousted him from power was a mere private adventurer, with whom national considerations weighed not at all, and whose only object in offering to conquer Ireland for the king was to hurt his enemy, Elizabeth, and repair his own shattered fortunes. MacGibbon knew him to be false to the core; he had been filled with dismayed apprehension on hearing of his absurd claims to the kingdom of Leinster, which he knew were without a shadow of truth. What then was to be expected if this dangerous man were entrusted with the task of helping the Irish Catholics? Was it likely that he would accept their ideas? It was far more probable that, at the head of a Spanish army, he would convert Ireland into a satrapy governed by himself as Philip's Viceroy; and the last state of the country would become worse than the first. This was the real nature

of the feud. The issue was not so much between two men as between two conflicting ideas which could not under any circumstances be reconciled.

There are various reports as to the pretexts for this quarrel. According to information which the British government afterwards received in Ireland, "the Archbishop of Cashel hid two Irishmen who had fled from Stukely, who thereupon came to him and finding the men in his chamber threatened him."[1] If this is true, the men referred to were probably some of those who had accompanied Stukely on his voyage and who, on their subsequent disillusionment, had come for security to the Irish envoy. This may have been the first incident of open enmity between the two men; but there is no doubting that trouble was brewing long before it occurred. Writing immediately after Stukely's arrival in Spain, Huggins, the spy, had declared that the Duke of Feria was "more an enemy of the Archbishop than a friend, and would not have the king take upon him any enterprise upon the persuasion of any Irishman; for that he well knew that they were but a sort of beggarly people, great traitors to one another and of no force."

The Archbishop's version of the affair, given during his conversations with Walsingham, although its accuracy is naturally suspect, is too interesting to omit. King Philip, he said, had sent for him on a certain occasion and asked his opinion of Stukely, and he had not attempted to conceal the bad opinion he had formed of him. He told the king of the adventurer's evil record; that he had been "a pirate on the sea, of life dissolute, of expenses prodigal, and of no substance." He cast ridicule on the idea that Stukely could effect anything in Ireland, bidding the king "not to be so light of belief"; for the Irish nobility would never trust a man whom they knew to be "a shifter, and one who for the maintenance of his prodigality seeketh to abuse all men."

[1] *Irish MSS.*, May 2, 1571.

Shortly after this interview, MacGibbon met the Duke of Feria by accident, and, in the course of their conversation, related what he had told the king concerning Stukely. The Duke listened with apparent displeasure, and when he had finished, stiffly informed him that there were very good reasons why his Majesty should accept the Englishman's offer. "If the king," replied MacGibbon, "believes what he saith, then there will be no great difficulty in the enterprise; but when it comes to the trial it will fall out otherwise." The Duke grew still more incensed, and said: "I perceive you are not willing it should go forward, and therefore you seek to deface this gentleman whom we honour with the name of Duke of Ireland." The Archbishop sarcastically remarked that Stukely's "title and calling were more than ever Ireland was acquainted with," more especially as the bearer had not a penny to his name. "I am sure," rejoined Stukely's champion with spirit, "if he might enjoy his own there, it would well maintain his calling." But the last word remained with the Irish envoy. "Surely," he said, with a bitter laugh, "if the rest of his talk prove no truer than this, then shall you see the king much abused by him." The Duke retired in high dudgeon, and reported the conversation to Stukely, who immediately came to the Archbishop and told him that, were it not for his priestly character, he would be speedily avenged upon him.[1] But we must beware of attaching too much credence to this story.

Soon the story of the quarrel was noised abroad The Archbishop told Stukely's discreditable history, and Stukely retorted with aspersions on the Archbishop's private life. Even the Spanish Council was split in twain: the President, Cardinal Spinoza, and Ruy Gomez took sides with MacGibbon, while the Duke and Duchess of Feria warmly championed the Englishman. As a proof of the latter's worthlessness, it is of interest to note that

[1] *Compleat Ambass.*, pp. 58-61.

the better English exiles, such as Lord Morley and his brother, disgusted at the honours showered on such a charlatan, openly supported the Irish envoy.

Rumours of Philip's intention to dispatch an army to Ireland without delay now filled Spain. These rumours centred chiefly round the fleet which was to convey Anne of Austria, Philip's betrothed, to her new home. It was understood that on its arrival Stukely was to be given a certain number of the ships to fulfil his promises in Ireland: and the English Government was inundated with warnings from all quarters. Cecil was told that he might expect a Spanish expedition at any moment; and from France came news that the House of Guise was betraying an ominous interest in the Irish emissaries.[1] The accounts received from Huggins, on his release from prison, were no less alarming. Stukely, wrote the spy, was entertained with great honour, and before long would go to Ireland as general of the expedition, accompanied by Julian Romero, a seasoned veteran, who had won glory in many of Philip's wars. "The voice is that there go ten thousand soldiers," but the writer understands that there will not be more than five or six thousand, "with many artificers and many Italian engineers to fortify." "He has twenty-six of the ships which brought the queen to Spain appointed to transport his men," and the Duke of Feria has furnished him with horses and armour; but as many preparations are necessary, they will not be ready to start for a few months.[2]

Another Englishman in Spain corroborated the testimony of Huggins. This was Oliver King, a soldier of fortune who had fought in many wars and on many sides, and who was now living in Madrid. There he had met "a certain Duke of Ireland, otherwise called Master Stukely, who gave him some respectable apparel, and treated him with great and marvellous liberality." "In a short

[1] Norris to Cecil, Sept. 6 (*For. Cal.*, 1569-71, p. 332).

[2] Huggins to Walsingham, Jan 25, 1571 (*For. Cal.*, 1569-71, p. 394).

time afterwards, calling me into his bedchamber, he said that he must diligently depart into his country of Ireland with ten thousand men, in the which army he would have employed me for to have undermined the forts of Dingle, Wexford and Waterford, with many other castles which were enemies unto this good Duke Stukely." King, however, had sufficient courage to refuse, saying that he "came into Spain to serve the king, and that he would not, while he had life, bear arms against his natural prince." Furious at this defiance, Stukely denounced him as a "villain and traitor," and finally had him thrown into prison as a "Luteryan"; but he was induced to release him by the entreaties of his friend Don Francisco de Merles, who had noticed that King attended Mass regularly and "knocked his breast as well as they." "And when this good Duke did see that he might not put me to death by the Inquisition, he caused me to come forth in the presence of the knight and certain captains of his, with all his gentlemen and yeomen, and stripped me unto my shirt, and banished me the town of Madrid, giving me but four hours respite to depart upon pain of the gallows." Accordingly, in this state of *déshabillé*, King had to fly from the capital. Avoiding the traps which his tormentor had set for him, he crossed the frontier and reached St. Jean de Luz in France, from whence he wrote an account of his adventures to Cecil. The letter also contained a general account of the dangerous situation which confronted England. "A number of traitors there be in this country who gape daily for the death of the queen. The duke's grace Stukely has received the Sacrament, and promised to render unto the King of Spain not only entrance within his duchy, but also possession of the whole realm of Ireland." Four thousand "Larquebussiers" from Granada are to accompany him; "they are but rascals, the most part beggarly and ill-armed like the Bezonians," but their captains are old and beaten men of war. Many Italian engineers are

also of his company, "and there be soldiers amassing in all the country of Spain who shall be embarked at Vigo." All these enterprises are conducted in the name of the Duke of Ireland; "for the king will not avow any of them, pretending to a feigned peace."[1]

Beyond all doubt, Spain was preparing; but whether Philip intended to go beyond that stage is another matter. Peace with England was still the keynote of his policy, and all this display was probably designed to impress the English queen and her ministers with the perils which would attend any duplicity in the negotiations. Were the latter to be broken off, he would patch up a peace with the Vatican, and Stukely would be sent forward with the joint benediction of Pope and Catholic king; but he was still hopeful that such drastic steps would not be necessary. He had realised that Elizabeth's show of defiance concealed a timorous and changeable spirit, which would be cowed by so palpable a threat of war. Events justified his calculations; the English queen, finding herself beset with difficulties,—her throne insecure, rebellion threatening amongst her Catholic subjects, her friends in Scotland alienated by her fickle and miserly policy, France impatient at her reluctance to marry Anjou—was for the moment only too glad to continue negotiations with Spain. Accordingly Philip temporarily dismissed the idea of an expedition in aid of Ireland. The hostility between Stukely and the native Irish party led by MacGibbon provided him with a way out of the difficulty. Cardinal Spinoza and the other members of his Council who supported the Archbishop of Cashel, were bitterly opposed to sending any forces under the command of an obscure adventurer; and to the end of his days Stukely attributed Philip's reluctance to the machinations of MacGibbon's friends. His servant, Richard Smith, afterwards related how he "heard say that if he [Stukely] had not fallen out with the Cardinal

[1] Huggins to Walsingham, Jan. 25, 1571 (*For. Cal.*, p. 406).

Spinoza and King Gomez, he should have had 10,000 men."[1] In 1572 an Irishman, who was captured on his return from Spain, told the same story. Stukely's coming had been "stayed by his quarrel with the pretended Archbishop."[2]

The Irish envoy, counting upon the support of his powerful allies in the Council of State, now determined on a last attempt to oust the usurper from power. On the 16th of December he addressed a lengthy memorandum to the king, which set forth in plain terms the unsavory history of the so-called Duke of Ireland. As we read, it becomes evident to us that the writer has spared no pains in collecting information; for scarcely a single discreditable fact in the life of Stukely has escaped his vigilance. He told of the young man who had risen in the service of the Duke of Suffolk, of the riotous prodigal who had eloped with a wealthy heiress and squandered her vast inheritance, of the murderous buccaneer to whose attentions so many Spanish ships had been subjected. He related how Stukely had the pretext of going to London to seek Elizabeth's pardon; how he had plundered churches, monasteries, and images; and how finally he had stolen off to Spain when all the world thought he was bound for England. There were many inaccuracies in the prelate's narrative, but the main essentials were true; and he invited the king, if he did not believe them, to secure corroboration of them from the mariners who came with Stukely from Galicia—but secretly, lest they should incur the enmity of this man "who has always been most singularly vengeful in his wickedness."

To the story of his being sent over by the Irish chiefs, the Archbishop gave the following emphatic denial :—

As he is merely a private individual it cannot be imagined that the Lords of Ireland should place in his hands a business of such

[1] Confession of Richard Smith, Oct. 17, 1571, *Murdin*, p. 183.

[2] *Irish Cal.*, 1509-73, p. 472.

importance, above all, as they have not given notice of it to me. They sent me here, and they know it is for their sakes I am at this court; neither can I believe that the Irish princes would wish that the private English gentleman should have command in the slightest degree in their kingdom, whilst they with such obstinacy resist the Queen of England, who has so often offered them peace on good conditions. Therefore, I consider his coming as a matter of deception, or an act devoid of common sense; for, as far as I understand, he has received no commission from the princes of Ireland for your Majesty or anyone else. My opinion has also been confirmed by the arrival of a Franciscan friar with certain dispatches for me, the same whom I had formerly sent to Ireland, and who has also been in Cordova with your Majesty; neither did I receive any intimation by letter of the said Thomas Stukely, nor did the friar hear anything about him, except that there was a report that a certain famous Englishman had gone to sea, and that it was feared that it was with the intention, as formerly, of robbing. It seems to me that your Majesty should enquire from the said Thomas Stukely, by whose order and for what purpose he came to Spain; for if it is a scheme of his own mind, it is clear that he will be able to do but little; neither should he be permitted to go off at his pleasure, because, now that he has men and other preparations made for sailing, and not having his country to live in, he will go about plundering as before; and the King will have to give an account to God, if, having it in his power to prevent so much evil, he should not do so.[1]

But MacGibbon's words of warning fell upon deaf ears. Stukely, although every line of the denunciation was true, was more acceptable to Philip than the Irish envoy. He had none of the latter's responsibility, none of his awkward nationalism, and at some future date he might be a useful instrument for conquering Ireland after the king's own ideas. For the present, indeed, he had no intention of actively employing him; but he had equally little intention of dismissing him. On the contrary he answered the Archbishop's trumpet-blast by showering fresh honours upon his adversary. Stukely himself tells us that he was "well seen and caressed by all the court."[2] "He is called Duke of Ireland," wrote

[1] *Spic. Oss.*, I., 66-70.

[2] "Mr. Stukle's Narrative."

Huggins, "and keeps a greater port than any two dukes in the court; for his table alone the king gives him 500 reals a day, which he has done since the beginning of September. The king has sent his son to be brought up at Alcale with the Prince of Orange's son." Well, indeed, might Elizabeth chafe at the sight of her turbulent subject treated with such princely munificence, and perhaps she thought with bitter regret of her stupid animosity during the days when he was humbly suing for her pardon and favour. Meanwhile Stukely, under Philip's ostentatious patronage, flattered by the courtiers, befriended by the chivalry of Spain, could well afford to laugh at the fulminations of MacGibbon. Fortune, which in former days had played him many a scurvy trick, had at one stroke amply requited him for past injuries. A few months ago he was a penniless prisoner; now he was hailed as Duke of Ireland. The adventurer, it seemed, had won the day.

With a heavy heart the Archbishop realised that his power was at an end, wrested from him by the hated Englishman whom no representations could induce Philip to disown. Nothing remained for him now, save to leave the scene of his disgrace and return to his own country, there to face the persecution of Elizabeth and the indignation of his own friends. A letter from the Nuncio to Cardinal Alessandrino in the early days of 1571 announces his departure: "The Archbishop of Cashel has quitted the court—by what he told me, *re infecta*—and rather came to some rupture with this gentleman [Stukely] whereof I know not the cause. But it is not surprising that ill-will should arise between an Englishman and an Irishman, for it is instinctive between these two nations."[2]

D. A. Binchy.

[1] *For. Cal.*, 1569-71, p. 394.

[2] *Rome Cal.*, I., 379.

ITALIAN CATHOLICS AND THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM

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TO the student of the economic aspects of Italian life there are few facts more striking in themselves or more suggestive in their implications than the new spirit of self-reliance which animates the workers to-day. Before the World War the masses, as opposed to the classes, in Italy seemed not unwilling to go on accepting the existing order of industrial life; in general, they combined in efforts for the mitigation of its harsher effects, and they organised for the economic amelioration of the state of things as they found them. It was in this ameliorative spirit that they embarked upon strikes for higher wages or fewer hours of labour or better conditions of work, that they were willing to believe that arbitration-courts might be just tribunals for the righting of their wrongs, that they were induced to direct their combined activities to the obtaining of legislative enactments for protection from the rapacity of unjust employers. But since the World War, in Italy as in other countries, a great wave of indignation seems to have risen out of the very depths of human nature against the whole economic system as it at present exists. It is no exaggeration to say that throughout all the levels of the Italian working class there is a vast and rising tide of discontent, stirring far below the surface the stream of national life. And this after-war discontent is due not so much to a recognition of the indubitable fact that in the Great War it was chiefly the working classes that had to pay the biggest price in men's lives and women's sorrows, not so much to the later fact that it is on the workers that the rise in the cost

of living presses most heavily, nor yet to the other fact that the industrial paralysis induced by the shock of war affects most intimately the members of that great class which has no other means of livelihood than the opportunity for labour which modern industrial conditions afford; but it appears to be due to a psychological development that is not unlikely to have far-reaching effects in the social structure as we know it to-day.

The new economic outlook is not ultimately concerned with a fairer distribution of the wealth of the world. It is not concerned with distribution as a final problem at all. It fixes its attention on the very elements of production itself. This new outlook would appear to be in some measure due to what is veritably a revolution in the history of economic thought, a revolution whereby the workers to-day refuse to be made dependent on the economically higher classes of society.[1] The modern worker openly asserts what he believes to be his right to the organisation, the guardianship, and the due development of the interests of his own economic life. He rejects the old theory that has made of him a mere instrument of production, an instrument to be priced or to be paid according to an arbitrary value given to the products of his labour. He claims that he is the *human factor* in production, and he demands that in the economic sphere human personality be no longer flouted or denied or debased. He cries out for independence in the economic order and asserts the right of industrial self-determination.[2] From the political aspect of human life he has learned the

[1] Francesco Olgiati: *Il Divenire Sociale*, Milan, 1921, pp. 1-3.
Pottier: *La Morale Catholique et les Questions Sociales d'Aujourdhui*, Vol. I., Charleroi, 1921, p. 8.
Gerolamo Meda: *Dal Controllo Operaio al Partecipazionismo*, Milan, 1922, p. 11.
Cf. also Max Turmann's article in the *Revue Economique Internationale*, Sept. 1920, *La part du travail dans la gestion des entreprises.*

[2] *Cf.* Cole: *Chaos and Order in Industry*, Methuen, London, 1920, especially Chap. iv. on the Guild Solution. The Italian Socialist view is well outlined in Turati: *Trent'anni di Critica Sociale*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1921, pages 293-294. What may perhaps be called the enlightened Conservative view of the new economic outlook is suggested in Rathenau's *Die neue Wirtschaft*

practical value of democratic principles, and he has come to believe that some such principles must be given a chance in the industrial world. He seeks, therefore, the democratisation of industry. He desires to see absolutism dethroned in the counting-house and in the factory as he has seen it dethroned in the council-chamber and in the kingdom. He points out that in the more recent phases of political evolution absolute monarchies have given way to constitutional assemblies elected at the will of him and his; for he has seen the king who really governed yield to the king who is merely the paid servant of the people. In some countries indeed he has watched great empires crumble that the people should enter into its own. That the present economic organisation of society has miserably failed is the first article of his economic creed, and he holds that for a scheme of reconstruction the logic of the political analogy is all on his side.[1] Wherefore he is emboldened to prophesy that sooner or later the power of the industrial patriarchs shall be broken and that the economic control, which has been hitherto exercised exclusively by the capitalist class, shall pass from the few into the hands of the many. This then is the new outlook of the world's workers, a vision of things yet to be, that among students of social science in Italy as elsewhere has caused much searching of souls.[2] The political triumph of Fascism, with its reaction to the secure tradition of an older day, has doubtless obscured this outlook for the moment; but there are still those who say that the vision, though yet afar off, shall surely be realised.

To translate this attractive economic theory into terms

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[1] According to Nitti, *La decadenza dell'Europa*, there were 57 States and 41 reigning families in Europe in 1914, while in 1922 the number of States had increased to 73, but the reigning families had decreased to 16.

[2] For a good presentation of the new problem, see Olgiati, *op. cit.*, in his first three chapters. The third chapter, "On the Collapse of the Salary System," is particularly illuminating in its exposition of the new tendencies among German Catholic economists.

of actual industrial fact one or other of two methods, each already known here and there in the ranks of organised labour, has been brought into requisition. One such method is the method of revolution, the sudden socialisation of the mechanism of production, involving the immediate establishment of industrial control by the workers themselves. This method is not essentially new. As far back as 1905, in the short-lived Russian revolution of that year, it was put forward in Russia by one Nossar Krustavoff under the form of primitive Factory Councils, which were to be elected by general assemblies of the workers employed in the various factories and which were to exercise a proprietary control, not merely over raw material and over machinery, but also over the higher commercial interests of each species of manufacture. On the sudden failure of the revolution the Krustavoff proposal fell into temporary oblivion, but was revived in the Kerensky regime of 1917 under a very modified form. With the triumph of Lenin the socialisation of industry had come ; the Kerensky Factory Councils ordered the immediate seizure of the factories, the owners and managers were forthwith expelled, and the control of the works passed exclusively into the hands of the men. The world knows what disastrous results followed this act of industrial revolution. Lenin was thereupon driven by force of anarchic circumstance to suppress the Factory Councils, which he did under the law of May 26, 1919. This law nationalised the Russian industries and transferred all directive control of the factories from the local Councils to managers and directors nominated not by the workers but by the head offices of National Control.

In estimating the economic value of this Russian effort at factory control it is necessary to guard against a possible confusion of thought. The Factory Council in a Bolshevist regime is a very different thing from the Factory Council that has existed or that may exist in the present economic organisation of industrial life on

the basis of Capital and Labour. To understand the distinction it is well to remember that the system of Factory Councils issuing in a measure of joint control had its origin in industrial history nearly half a century ago.[1] In the year 1879 a German manufacturer, one Heinrich Freese, organised a species of workers' committee in his factory, giving his employees a sort of indirect influence on the management of the business.[2] The venture prospered, but its success seems to have escaped the notice of the general public at the time. However, its economic value was not lost on some of the more thoughtful members of the German Centre Party. As a result of organised propaganda work on the part of the Centre Party[3] the year 1890 saw many workers' committees (Arbeiterausschüsse) or factory committees (Fabrikausschüsse) established throughout Germany. For example, the miners of Silesia and Saarbrücken, the iron-workers of Silesia and Würtemberg, the silk-workers of Hannover and the Rhine, the ceramic workers of Bavaria and of Saxony, various bodies of factory workers in Berlin, and the textile workers of Brants at München Gladbach all possessed at the end of the year 1890 workers' committees elected by the male and female workers themselves to discuss with the management questions relating to the running of the factory and matters such as salaries or promotions affecting the relations existing between employer and employed.

Similar committees elected by the factory workers themselves were known in other countries in the pre-war years. For instance, in Switzerland the bootmaking firm of Bally et Cie in Schönenwerd introduced a factory committee in 1908, and the Electric Cable Manufacturing Company of Cortaillod did likewise; in the latter case

[1] An excellent history of the evolution of the notion of Factory Councils is that of Guarnieri: *I Consigli di Fabbrica*, Città di Castello, 1921.

[2] A very good outline of the history of the German Factory Councils, both before and after the War, is to be found in Meda, *op. cit.*, pages 22-29.

[3] The soul of this economic propaganda was an ecclesiastic, Rev. Fr. Hitze, director of the *Arbeiterwohl* and a member of the Centre Party.

the committee was made up of five men-workers and one woman-worker.[1] France also had its *Conseils d'usine* and its *Conseils d'atelier*, the most widely-known example of which was that of the Dye Works at Val-des-Bois, near Rheims, directed and owned by M. Leon Harmel.[2] The earliest pre-war record we have of an Italian adaptation of the idea of the Factory Council is that of the collective contract made on October 27, 1906, between the Italian Federation of Metallurgical Workers and the motor firm "Itala" of Turin. This contract was signed by both parties for a period of three years; it definitely provided for hours of labour and amounts of salaries and other necessary elements; it acknowledged the existence of a Factory Council (Commissione interna), and it stipulated that difficulties as to the interpretation of the various clauses of the contract as well as possible disputes arising from special bonuses or special increases granted in exceptional cases to individual workmen should all be discussed between the Factory Council and the Board of Directors. The inner discipline of the factory was entrusted to the workers' committee. It is matter of industrial history that, owing to the workers' failure to combine loyally under their own disciplinary board of control, this Italian effort broke down.

However, it is not with the immediate causes of its failure or success that we are concerned here. Even if it should have achieved a temporary success, it shared

[1] These two examples may be studied in greater detail in Max Turmann's *Problèmes Sociaux du Travail Industriel*, Paris, 1921.

[2] Harmel, after some years, made in 1903 those committees purely workers' committees, without any interference from managers or overseers; they worked very well under his guidance, his principle being enshrined in the maxim: *Le bien de l'ouvrier par l'ouvrier et avec lui, jamais sans lui; à plus fort raison jamais malgré lui.*

In America the miners of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company had a factory committee in 1914. Similarly the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, the Taylor Warton Iron and Steel Company, N.J. Indeed at the present day there are hundreds of such workers' councils in the United States, all being, however, of rather an experimental nature. The years of the War witnessed great developments in this principle of workers' representation, especially in England, where the Whitley Councils came into being four years ago.

one dominant feature with every other such industrial innovation: it recognised the economic and social distinction between Capital and Labour as something axiomatic and fundamental. However much it may be regretted by the Conservative classes, it is a matter of simple industrial experience that any expedient for solving modern labour problems which canonises this distinction makes little lasting appeal to the workingman to-day. It is true that the evils of the present system may be alleviated by increases of salary or concessions of bonuses or better economic conditions of work. But for the disciple of Labour the inherent vice of any and every such palliative is that it leaves the relative position of employer and employed fundamentally unchanged. The workers remain workers. The masters remain masters. The prospect of what he regards as little better than a state of pampered servitude fails to allure the worker.[1] The fact is that his antagonism is not against the evils of the capitalist regime, but is rather against the whole capitalist regime as such. The mutual irreconcilability of Capital and Labour to-day is based no longer on merely economic considerations.[2] The *terrain* of the dispute is on a higher plane. It is spiritual rather than material. It is no longer a matter of the more equitable division of wealth or of the due increase of salary. It is a matter of human dignity, an affair of human personality.[3] As it

[1] *Cf.* Cole, *op. cit.*, p. 126 *et seq.*, *On the Fallacy of Joint Control.*

[2] André Arnou: *La participation des travailleurs à la gestion des entreprises: la collaboration ouvrière.* Paris: Action Populaire, 1921. *Vide* also Pottier, *op. cit.*, p. 6. An excellent series of articles appeared on this latest phase of economics in the *Civiltà Cattolica* a couple of years ago. The articles were later published in book form by the author, Fr. Brucolleri, S.J., under the title *Salariato e Compartecipazione*, Rome, 1921. The brilliant writer exposes the evils of the Salary system and suggests a gradual development of the copartnership idea.

[3] It would not be possible to give here anything like a complete list of the names of Catholic sociologists in various European countries who have declared against the Salary system. Olgiati points out in the work already referred to that the economic organisation may be considered either as static or dynamic. The former aspect is that which appeals to the Liberal school of economists, *laisser faire, laisser passer.* In regard to the dynamic aspect, Socialism proposes generally revolution, while one of the suggestions put forward by Catholics is that of Co-operativism.

has been well said, the new Labour outlook is a social result of the fermentation, in the bosom of society, of that basic principle of human equality that is found in the pages of the Gospel.

It is scarcely necessary to point out in this regard that the concept of the ultimate democratisation of industry as such is opposed to no article of the Catholic Faith. As long as the fundamental principles of natural justice are safeguarded the Church is indissolubly allied to no particular economic organisation of society. It is in the means employed to bring about the transformation that the moral value of the effort at economic reform is to be sought. Two methods have been tried in Italy. One such method is that already referred to, namely the seizure of the factories. The other is a method which depends on more or less gradual evolution rather than on the sudden shock of industrial revolution, namely the method known as Co-operativism. The former method was unsuccessfully tried in Italy in 1920 by the Socialists. The latter method has been applied especially by organised bodies of the Catholics in the country. It is here proposed to the readers of STUDIES as a means that is not without results encouraging to its promoters. Its aim, of course, is the ultimate democratisation of industry, and it travels towards the goal by the path of industrial evolution. In the hope that the presentation of the main features of this Catholic effort may contain some lessons for Irish Labour, the writer of this article ventures to expound as briefly as possible the principle of Co-operativism and to describe how that principle is being put into operation in Italy to-day. But before treating directly of this principle and of its various applications it is necessary to state that the Socialist seizure of the Italian factories in 1920 emphasised for Italy the lesson of the Lenin failure, namely, that the worker will never be able to realise industrial freedom and economic independence till he has been duly educated in the moral principles and technical

essentials of industrial combination. Labour failed of its great opportunity in Russia chiefly because of this deficiency, and Lenin frankly confessed his failure in a speech delivered in March, 1920, at the Congress of the Water-Transport Workers :—[1]

> Every work of direction calls for special qualities. A man may be an excellent revolutionary or a good agitator, but he may be at the same time a poor administrator. Whoever considers the facts of life and of human experience knows that to direct a business a man must needs be competent ; that he must understand the conditions of production not only in their broad outlines but also in their particular applications ; that he must know perfectly the technique of the particular business in hand ; and, finally, that it is necessary to have a certain degree of scientific knowledge. Wherefore, if with an imposing appearance of knowledge we propose general solutions affecting questions of associated or individual control of industries, let us convince ourselves little by little that in regard to management we know practically nothing ; let us begin then to learn something from facts, and let us try to consider our every step ; and let us set apart every man amongst us who shows himself capable in any degree of the work of administration. The discussions of the Central Committee have proved to you that we are not opposed in principle to the project of placing workers at the head of our industries.

That speech was a veritable bombshell. But the thought that inspired it was not new to Turati, the doyen of Italian Socialism, who had been wise enough to see the main cause of the Bolshevist failure, and who was prudent enough to advise a waiting policy to Italian Labour. But Italian Labour in 1920, drunk with dreams of revolution, would not hearken to the warning. Yet, from the Socialist point of view, what an opportunity was missed ! At the time even the Government was not unsympathetic. In the debate on the King's Speech in December, 1919, Parliament discussed a motion demanding the establishment of factory-control on the part of the Trades-Unions and of the State which should be the beginning of a policy of the socialisation of large industries ; the motion

[1] The full speech published in *Pravda* for March 17, 1920. An Italian translation may be found in *Italia Industriale*, June, 1920.

was introduced by a member of the Socialist Party ; it was supported by Mauri of the Partito Popolare ; and it was passed by a large majority. In that same week Factory Councils were organised in the Fiat Motor Works in Turin, and the first infiltrations of Bolshevism began to be perceived in organised Italian Labour. Owing to the general spirit of insubordination among the workers the Factory Councils were not a success. Through the spring and summer of 1920 the unrest was becoming more and more intensified every day. Finally a general strike was organised in the beginning of the autumn, and in September the metallurgical workers of Turin sounded the tocsin of revolution by seizing the factories. Their call was hearkened to. The Red Flag was unfurled. The Red Guards were established. And meetings of workers throughout the North of Italy solemnly discussed the question of the advisability of associating themselves with the revolution. Finally, after some anxious days, the whole movement collapsed. The causes of the collapse were neither merely political nor merely economic ; in the opinion of most of those qualified to judge, both from among the Socialist ranks and from their adversaries, the underlying cause of this gigantic failure was similar to the cause of the Bolshevist failure.[1] In other words, the workers had not the patience to make the most of a waiting policy in face of the opportunity offered by the industrial conditions of Italy in

[1] In the Fiat Works from January 1 to March 27, 1920, the work of the Councils was mainly directed to stopping the output rather than to increasing it, so that the actual output diminished during this period by more than 15 per cent. The slightest excuse was sufficient to justify a stoppage of work. Once a whole department was held up for several hours because a messenger had been sent on an errand without a waterproof overcoat ! ! Speaking at Genoa on May 24, 1920, five months before the seizure of the factories, Bruno Buozzi, a prominent Socialist, admitted that the Factory Councils at Turin had appreciably lessened the men's desire to work. "If the Socialists were to assume the management of the factories to-day," he said, "they would be forced to fire on the workers, because many of the men have become incorrigible thieves." A pretty moral and spiritual preparation for the responsibilities of ownership ! !

1919 and 1920, they had not the mutual forbearance necessary for the realisation of any economic policy of associated control, and finally they had not the technical equipment requisite for the administration of industry. It is no idle prophecy to say that it will be many years before organised Labour in Italy recovers from the effects, political as well as economic, of that rash attempt at industrial revolution.

The Meaning of Co-operativism.

The other means by which the workers in Italy are seeking to effect the economic transformation of society is the application of the principle of Co-operation. As an element conducive to social security it is not unknown to history; for, in the sense of mutual assistance founded on a species of associate-ownership and on mutual ties of correlative duties and rights, it was the very soul of the corporations of Arts and Crafts in the Middle Ages. Its modern application is, however, somewhat different from the form in which it was successfully realised in the simpler economic conditions of centuries ago. As it is being put before the Italian Catholics to-day, the successful application of the principle involves, in the words of the Catholic economist Cantono, a great economic-social movement having for its scope the ultimate transformation of the present economic structure of society by means of the union of producers and consumers, and proposing for its immediate end the union of Capital with Labour by associating the one and the other in the same persons. The comprehensive definition of Co-operativism proposed by Natale Turco, the author of a recent work on the Social Question, is *the association of rural labourers, or of urban labourers, of consumers, of the proprietors of small holdings, for the purpose of defending themselves from the economic injuries likely to be inflicted on them by capitalists or by speculators and of securing to the masses the greatest advantage*

in regard to production, labour, consumption, credit, and insurance.[1]

The principle of co-operation, applied in this sense, appears to be a very effective means of dealing with the harsher effects of the present economic organisation of society. It may be utilised in almost all departments of economic life. Applied to the industrial problems of labour and of production, it aims not only at the elimination of the employer or of the contractor, thus securing for the workers a larger share of the fruits of their labour than is possible under the Salary-System ; but it aims also at the abolition of the capitalist as such, by ensuring that as far as is economically possible the workers shall be the owners both of the raw material they handle and of the mechanical appliances necessary to their craft. Natale Turco is very careful to point out that this co-operative ownership is very different from collectivism. Indeed he justly asserts that Karl Marx and many of his modern disciples oppose for the most part the system of co-operativism as such. Collectivism abolishes private property. Co-operativism, on the other hand, safeguards the right of private property ; it makes the exercise of that right possible to every worker by introducing a social form rather than an individualistic form of holding such property. According to this contention, in the case of productive co-operativism the associate-labourers do not merely divide among themselves the profits accruing from their work, leaving the capital as such under collective control and in collective ownership ; but the capital, in various *pro-rata* percentages, is actually the property of each and every one of the associate-co-operators. *The capital is not in any sense collective property.* It is rather a sum-total of various amounts of private property.

[1] Natale Turco : *La Questione Sociale*, 2 vols., Soc. Edit. Vita e Pensiero, Milan, 1922. *Cf.* Vo. II., p. 721. The author appends to the work an excellent little bibliography of Catholic Social effort, particularly in France and Italy.

As regards the economic problems of barter and consumption it attacks in a twofold way the evil that we have come to know as profiteering; it strikes at the system of retailers' profits by combining the consumers into a commercial entity which we know in Ireland by the name of co-operative store, and it tends ultimately to eliminate the wholesale merchant by means of a great federation of the individual co-operative stores. The successful administration of all such commercial ventures must be guided by sound financial considerations; and it has been found in practice that the various companies must devise some permanent means of securing that none of the beneficient results of their own financial credit shall be lost to the associate-consumers. Therefore, every such co-operative movement must sooner or later build up its own co-operative banking association and also its own co-operative system of mutual insurance.[1] Finally, all such co-operative associations, whatever be the particular economic activity involved, may be united into a vast national co-operative organisation wherein are centralised all the co-operative energies of the nation. Indeed, even a further step is possible. For the national organisations may ultimately be joined together in an international union which in course of time may verily become "the parliament of man, the federation of the world."

This is the blessed vision of peace that consoled the Catholic workers of Italy, not only in those terrible months of unrest immediately after the Great War, but also in the dark days that followed the Socialist revolution. To realise the great scheme of making the labouring classes industrially free and economically self-dependent, to emancipate them though ever so little from the economic servitude imposed on them by the capitalist regime, to make the earth on which they labour a radiant and a

[1] This suggests the co-operativism of credit. Catholic efforts in this direction in Italy will be referred to in a subsequent article.

living thing, the Catholics of Italy have gladly set themselves to the task of organising on the basis of social co-operation.[1] In this great effort their leaders constantly keep before them the truth that this modern application of the co-operative principle is something more than a mere economic weapon. They have learned to know that it has its spiritual aspects. This is not to say that co-operativism is a theological dogma or that the Church claims any more for it than that it is an economic expedient for solving wholly or partly the fundamental problem of our modern organisation of society.[2] But as the individual Catholic sees it, this latest application of the principle of co-operation is founded on the sense of social solidarity; and the idea of social solidarity is ultimately based on that divine virtue of charity which the Gospel calls love of our neighbour. Whatever may be said of other countries and of other such movements, it is not too much to claim that the practical recognition of this spiritual aspect has been responsible for not a little of the success that is being achieved by this great Catholic effort to solve the Social Question. Failures indeed have not been wanting to the venture. Yet the successes have been so striking and the general lessons so suggestive that one cannot but believe that the time is approaching when a similar effort must be made in Ireland. Perhaps from the Italian model Irish Labour may learn to set about a solution, some of the economic principles of which shall be considered in a subsequent article.

CHARLES F. RONAYNE.

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[1] It is but just to say that the efforts made by the Socialists and the Neutrals in this direction also merit consideration, but such a study is beyond the scope of this article.

[2] Economics, like any other science, has its own rules and methods, by means of which it can carry on investigations or make experiments, free and unimpeded, within its own domain. Its relation to Catholic doctrine is negative rather than positive—that is to say, it may not assert or maintain anything contradictory to one of the truths of faith or to one of the fundamental principles of the moral law. *Vide* Mausbach: *Die katholische Moral und ihre Gegner*, Part II., chap. x. Eng. trans. p. 488. Wagner (New York) 1914.

[3] John Stuart Mill, Mazzini, Lassalle and several others have had the same thought.

NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE COUNCIL

BY JAMES H. RYAN, D.D., PH.D.

Executive Secretary, N. C. W. C.

THE entrance of the United States into the World War imposed on the twenty million Catholics of America a task commensurate with their numbers and power. In the greatest crisis of our history the Church was regarded on all sides as a powerful and necessary aid to the acquisition of that united and corporate effort required to win the War. A heavy responsibility and a splendid opportunity were thus presented to the Church by the great struggle.

Under the leadership of the late Cardinal Gibbons, the Catholics of America rose as one man to the realization of the demands which the national welfare made upon them. The National Catholic War Council was created by the Hierarchy. It was to be the organization through which the great services of all Catholic agencies, as well as of individuals, would be directed to the accomplishment of the war aims of the United States. Previous to the establishment of the War Council, no Catholic organization existed which could speak to the American people authoritatively in the name of the whole Catholic body and direct Catholic action in a unified way towards the fulfilment of Catholic ideals. The story of this national Catholic effort during the War is brilliantly told in Michael Williams' *American Catholics in the War.*

The close of the War brought to an end the major activities of the National Catholic War Council. But the glorious record of Catholics during the War and in the reconstruction period convinced the Hierarchy of

the necessity of continuing, in a national way, many of the activities which had been begun during the war period, as well as of initiating new lines of work vital to the well-being of the Church and helpful to the best interests of the nation. The Golden Jubilee Celebration of Cardinal Gibbons, which brought together over ninety members of the American Episcopate, gave the opportunity to Archbishop Cerretti, personal representative of His Holiness Benedict XV, to impress upon the bishops assembled the grave responsibility which was theirs of maintaining the position which Catholic united effort had attained in the United States. "Rome now looks to America," he said, "to be the leader in all things Catholic, and to set an example to other nations." To which message Cardinal Gibbons replied :—

> The suggestion of Archbishop Cerretti I regard as a divine call to summon our best thought and maximum energy in order to organise and direct them for the kindling of religion in the hearts of the American people. A closely knit organization of the Hierarchy acting together in harmony promises, under God's guidance, the greatest extension and development of the influence of religion. No other Church in history, probably, had so grand an opportunity challenging it as we have at this moment.

A committee of four bishops was appointed to survey the field and to present their recommendations at the formal meeting of the Hierarchy which took place at the Catholic University, Washington, D.C., September 24, 1919. This survey was thorough. The committee sought counsel from experts in all fields, held meetings, received suggestions, after which it presented a report embodying a comprehensive plan of organization and of work.

This report was accepted and the committee of bishops authorized to proceed to the formation of the National Catholic Welfare Council along the lines suggested. In the Pastoral Letter of the archbishops and bishops of the United States (September, 1920) addressed to the clergy and laity under their charge, the purposes and nature

of the National Catholic Welfare Council were explained in the following words :—

In view of the results obtained through the merging of our activities for the time and purpose of war, we determined to maintain, for the ends of peace, the spirit of union and the co-ordination of our forces. We have accordingly grouped together, under the National Catholic Welfare Council, the various agencies by which the cause of religion is furthered. Each of these, continuing its own special work in its chosen field, will now derive additional support through general co-operation. And all will be brought into closer contact with the Hierarchy, which bears the burden alike of authority and of responsibility for the interests of the Catholic Church.

Under the direction of the Council and, immediately, of the Administrative Committee, several departments have been established, as follows : The Department of Education, Department of Press and Publicity, Department of Laws and Legislation, Department of Social Action, and Department of Lay Organizations.

The task assigned to each is so laborious and yet so promising of results, that we may surely expect, with the divine assistance and the loyal support of our clergy and people, to promote more effectually the glory of God, the interests of His Church, and the welfare of our country.

Thus was the National Catholic Welfare Council launched to unite, co-ordinate, and express nationally the forces of American Catholicism.

Three meetings of the American Episcopate have been held since 1919. The reports made to these meetings show that the work of the National Catholic Welfare Council has been fully organized along the lines suggested in the Bishops' Pastoral. This work of organization was, of necessity, a task that required much time and the greatest care. The Administrative Committee, consisting of seven archbishops and bishops, which had been entrusted with the duty of effecting a working organization, looked first of all to permanency in the formation of the different departments of the National Catholic Welfare Council. Only after a long study of methods and programmes, therefore, and after an exhaustive sifting of

personnel, did they approve the organization of the five departments of the National Catholic Welfare Council as they stand to-day.

In the early part of 1921 the various departments, having been fully organized with competent staffs and their programmes approved, began work under the immediate direction of the Administrative Committee. The central office of the National Catholic Welfare Council is located in Washington, D.C., and occupies two large buildings, which are well adapted to the exigencies of the work. Washington was selected as the seat of the National Catholic Welfare Council for reasons which are obvious. It is not only the centre of American government; it is likewise a city of organizations, over one hundred and sixty having national headquarters there, amongst them all the principal Protestant bodies.

The Administrative Committee of the National Catholic Welfare Council at the present time consists of the following archbishops and bishops :—Most Reverend Edward J. Hanna, D.D., of San Francisco, Chairman; Right Reverend P. J. Muldoon, D.D., of Rockford, Vice-Chairman; Most Reverend Austin Dowling, D.D., of Saint Paul, Treasurer; Right Reverend Joseph Schrembs, D.D., of Cleveland; Right Reverend Edmund F. Gibbons, D.D., of Albany; Right Reverend Louis S. Walsh, D.D., of Portland, Maine; and Right Reverend Thomas E. Molloy, D.D., of Brooklyn.

Each department is under an episcopal chairman, whose duty it is to direct the work of his department. The reports of these chairmen are made to the Administrative Committee, which meets three or four times yearly, and oftener in emergencies. The principal function of the Administrative Committee is to co-ordinate the work of the different departments, to approve the policies of the National Catholic Welfare Council, and to report to the bishops assembled in annual conference the results accomplished. The Administrative Committee, therefore,

acts as a continuation committee of the general annual conference.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

The Executive Department, whose principal function is to secure unity among the five departments as well as to supervise the work of the Welfare Council, is headed by the Reverend John J. Burke, C.S.P. Father Burke is well known as the former Editor of the *Catholic World* and Chairman of the Committee on Special War Activities of the National Catholic War Council.

The Executive Department keeps in close touch with official Washington on all matters affecting Catholic rights and interests. As a medium of information through which the executive and legislative branches of our government may be apprised regarding the Catholic position on questions of public concern, this department has had notable success. Not only senators and members of the Cabinet, but the President himself have appealed to the National Catholic Welfare Council when problems arose in which the Catholic Church was concerned. In America questions of this character are of almost daily occurrence. The place of the Federal Government in education, the problem of physical and health education, the Prohibition Bill in so far as it affects the distribution of sacramental wine, the new Tariff Bill with its schedules on religious articles, statuary and books, are all matters in which the Catholic Church is vitally interested. Innumerable questions of social well-being, affecting the home, marriage, the place of women in industry, the rights of children, public morality and decency, have been met by the Executive Department, and clear-cut representations have been made to the government as to the Catholic position on each one of them. The vigorous stand taken by the Hierarchy on the Birth Control agitation was an important factor in the defeat of a movement whose purpose was the repeal of the federal law forbidding the transmission through the mails of obscene literature.

The immigration problem, particularly in its Catholic aspects, has been the object of special study and work. Recognised by the United States Government as the national agency in immigration work along with the Protestant and Jewish Boards, the National Catholic Welfare Council has created a central Bureau of Immigration at Washington, with branch offices in the ports of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, San Francisco and Seattle. A foreign representative has spent the past year in Europe making contacts with European immigration agencies. The National Catholic Welfare Council Bureau of Immigration is now prepared to keep in touch with Catholic immigrants from the moment they leave Europe until their arrival in America. Upon arrival here these immigrants are assisted in every way possible. By a system of "Follow-up" they are brought into connection with Catholic influences in the places where they intend to reside. By these efforts it is hoped to save thousands of immigrants who would otherwise be lost to the Church.

Few problems are more critical in the United States than the one which has arisen as the result of the unprecedented development of the cinema or motion pictures. The National Catholic Welfare Council Bureau of Motion Pictures has done effective, nation-wide work in preventing the increase in the output of indecent moving pictures. It has formulated a program of motion picture improvement which has elicited commendation from all sides, It is now planning more constructive work in the same direction for the coming year.

Department of Education

The chief purposes of the Department of Education are: (1) A clearing house of information concerning Catholic education and Catholic education agencies—for educators, students and the general public; (2) an advisory agency to assist the Catholic educational system in its development; (3) a connecting agency between

Catholic activities and government education agencies; (4) an active organization to safeguard the interests of Catholic education.

In the pursuit of the above purposes, statistics of all kinds, as well as other information regarding Catholic education both here and abroad, have been collected. The Department is in close touch with government education officials and with other educational agencies in Washington and elsewhere. During the past year it has been very active in its opposition to the Sterling-Towner Bill, as well as to other measures designed to injure the parish school system. Last May a "Catholic College Week" was promoted, which received widespread attention and proved very beneficial to Catholic colleges particularly by increasing the attendance at them. A Teachers' Registration Bureau is maintained as one of the activities of the Department of Education. Educational research of a constructional character, particularly in the field of elementary education and elementary text books, has occupied our educational experts. A partial list of the books and bulletins issued by this Department will give the reader a fair idea both of the amount and extent of the work accomplished for Catholic education by the National Catholic Welfare Council in the last eighteen months. The Department has issued the following:— *Directory of Catholic Colleges and Schools, Catechism of Catholic Education, Study of Catholic Students in Non-Catholic Institutions, Laws and Regulations relative to the Certification of Teachers, State Laws relative to Private and Parochial Schools, Opportunities for Foreign Students at Catholic Colleges and Universities.*

DEPARTMENT OF PRESS AND PUBLICITY

The work of the Department of Press and Publicity is an outstanding achievement in the field of Catholic journalism. Organised along the lines of the Associated

Press, it serves eighty-seven Catholic newspapers with up-to-date news gathered from every part of the world. The National Catholic Welfare Council Press Service maintains correspondents in Dublin, London, Louvain, Berlin, Prague, Cologne, Paris, Vienna, Madrid, Rome, Toronto, and Mexico City. Its weekly cable service is unsurpassed by that of any other news service in the world. The foreign staff representatives also supply the National Catholic Welfare Council with special articles relating to events in the different countries of interest to American readers. Correspondents are likewise maintained in the principal American cities.

The service supplied to the American Catholic press consists of the following :—(1) A printed Weekly News Sheet of eight columns, full newspaper size ; (2) a supplementary compilation of news features, properly headed, consisting of twenty-five to thirty-five pages ; (3) a weekly Washington News Letter ; (4) a weekly picture page depicting the principal Catholic events of the world ; (5) A monthly editorial sheet containing editorials, special articles, book reviews and other magazine features. A number of additions to this service are being planned.

The News Bureau also maintains an information department which gathers and cross-files all newspaper clippings, magazine articles, and other matter touching on the welfare of the Church. This service may be had on request by members of the clergy, laity, government officials and newspaper correspondents.

The work of the Press Department has attained recognition far beyond the limits of the United States. Catholic journalists from all over the world have come to Washington to study the methods employed in the gathering and distribution of news. It is needless to add that the Catholic Press of America has benefited greatly by this high-class service. Not only the external appearance of Catholic newspapers reflects the value of the press service, the increased circulation of the majority of them proves

better than words its worth to Catholic journalism. One example is typical of many others. The Baltimore *Catholic Review* has increased its circulation, which was eight thousand in 1920, to thirty-four thousand in 1922.

Department of Laws and Legislation

Conditions prevailing both in the nation and in the different states compelled the organisation of the Department of Laws and Legislation. Legislation affecting the home, marriage, women, the Church has been introduced into Congress and every state legislature. All these bills must be closely scrutinized. Amendments in the text are suggested. If these suggestions are not accepted, Catholics are warned of the impending menace to their rights and prepared to offset by united action the bad effects which would ensue if the proposed legislation were enacted into law. No one unacquainted with the American system of law-making can appreciate how necessary it is to be correctly informed and intelligently vigilant where legislative matters are concerned. Bishop Gibbons, the Chairman of the Department, has stated its ideals in the following words :—

> We have our representatives at Washington, who are not in any sense lobbyists or politicians. They come out openly and boldly into the light of day and invite an inspection of their motives and methods, are not afraid to stand before congressional committees and other bodies of the national Congress, and clearly proclaim Catholic needs, Catholic principles, Catholic rights, and Catholic objections to measures that may be pending before Congress.

The activities of this Department, however, embrace a wider field than its name implies. Besides keeping in touch with the progress of federal and state legislation, it likewise has made valuable contacts with government bureaus and national organisations on all matters of welfare work. It collects, moreover, and preserves data relative to legislative matters both federal and state.

Department of Social Action

The work of this Department has been based on the primary need of our Catholic people for information and propaganda concerning Catholic principles and ideals in citizenship, industry, rural problems, and social service. To acquire this information a great deal of scientific research was necessary. Investigations and surveys in these fields have been conducted by competent scholars like Dr. John A. Ryan, Dr. John A. Lapp, Dr. Edwin V. O'Hara, and Dr. William J. Kerby. The results of these labours are embodied in the following books and pamphlets issued by this Department :—*The Church and Labour, The Social Mission of Charity, The State and the Church, Religious Ideals in Industrial Relations, Capital and Labour, Bolshevism in Russia and America, Catechism of the Social Question, Civics Catechism, The Catholic Rural Programme.*

Over a million copies of the *Civics Catechism* have been distributed. The *Catechism of the Social Question* has been adopted by numerous social study clubs as a text-book. Besides widely distributing books and pamphlets, the Department of Social Action conducts lecture courses in colleges, seminaries, and before clubs. Encouragement of the formation of co-operative societies, particularly amongst farmers and consumers, has been one of the chief concerns of this Department. It has likewise organised a Hospital and Library Service Bureau, which collects information regarding the construction and administration of hospitals. The organ of this work is *Hospital Progress*, a magazine devoted to the furtherance of the aims and purposes of the Catholic Hospital Association.

The most recent development in this Department is the organization of the Rural Life Bureau under the direction of Rev. Dr. Edwin V. O'Hara. Its general aim is to improve the social, economic, and religious conditions of farm life, especially with a view to checking the alarming migration of Catholics from the farms to the cities.

Department of Lay Organizations

One of the greatest concerns of the bishops in considering plans for the organization of the Welfare Council was the establishment of an organization that would unify the Catholic lay forces of the country. The National Council of Catholic Men and the National Council of Catholic Women, co-ordinate branches of the Department of Lay Organizations, are the answers to that problem. No one has better stated the reasons for organizing our Catholic men and women than Archbishop Curley :—

> Heretofore we have stood apart, working in our small ways in separate groups in our parishes. We have never given expression to our potential strength in spite of the fact that there are twenty million Catholics in the United States. If we are to play the part we ought to play in the upbuilding of America ; if we are to gather strength in the divine work of spreading the influence of God's Church ; we must organise, we must get together. A bishop and his priests are powerless unless their efforts are backed up by a well organised, intelligent laity.

The National Council of Catholic Men has been organized in thirty-nine dioceses. More than one thousand societies, including eleven national, eleven state, and twenty diocesan, have been enrolled in its membership. It is estimated that the individual representation exceeds one million Catholic men.

The National Council of Catholic Men has conducted campaigns in favour of the Boy Scout movement, against religious prejudice, federalized education, and other matters affecting the Church's well-being. In 1923 it will concentrate on campaigns having to do with Catholic education, motion pictures, immigration and social welfare.

The National Council of Catholic Women embraces eleven national, twelve state, thirty-one diocesan, nine hundred and ninety local, and seven thousand individual members. Its aims are : (1) To serve as a medium through which the Catholic women of America may speak and act on all matters of public interest ; (2) to stimulate the work of existing organizations of Catholic women.

The National Council of Catholic Women maintains in Washington a graduate school of the social sciences whose purpose is to train social workers for Catholic welfare work. It is particularly interested in the problems of immigration as they affect women, in the housing of girls, and in legislation having to do with women. As a member of the International Union of Catholic Women's Leagues, it has successfully entered the field of international work with the purpose of bringing the forces of united action on the part of millions of American Catholic women to bear on the solution of problems which are of an international character.

The National Catholic Welfare Council is young, but in the brief period of its existence it has rendered a noteworthy service to the Church in the United States. At the last meeting of the Hierarchy, September, 1922, a committee of bishops issued the following statement to the press: "All the reports of the various departments of the National Catholic Welfare Council were listened to with intense interest and were received with sincere applause. The reports brought home to the assembled Hierarchy the enormous amount of work accomplished during the past three years."

The National Catholic Welfare Council is a service organization under the direction and control of the Hierarchy. By its service of information, advice, cooperation and assistance it has gone a long way on the road to the creation of a sentiment of national solidarity amongst American Catholics. The scattered forces of Catholicism have been united at last. We are now making as we have never done before, the full influence of Catholic ideals, expressed in united action, felt both in the Church and in the nation to the glory of Christ's Kingdom and to the welfare of our country.

JAMES H. RYAN.

CHRONICLE

August Thyssen

BY JOHN RYAN, S.J., M.A.

On January 11, a new and terrible chapter in the history of Europe opened with the attack of the French militarists on the German industries of the Ruhr. As is well known, the leading industrialists, headed by Krupp von Bohlen and Hugo Stinnes, delegated to their co-industrialist Fritz Thyssen the command in what may be called the front line of defence against the French onslaught. In the opening stages of the conflict, culminating in the ridiculous court-martial at Mainz, the French were easily worsted, and Fritz Thyssen found himself a popular hero. That he deserves the honours paid him by his countrymen is obvious ; yet it must be said that it is not exactly he but rather his father, August Thyssen, who is the very soul of the opposition to the French adventure on the Ruhr. One and eighty years of tireless effort have bent the old man's shoulders and left him incapable of bearing the physical strain which active leadership would entail ; but his is the guiding brain behind the whole movement of resistance, his the authoritative voice which his son Fritz is accustomed to obey, his the view which from the nature of the case is bound to carry enormous weight in the anxious deliberations at Berlin. In August Thyssen the greatness of German industry seems to be incorporated ; and now when that industry is attacked at its most vital point he must almost of necessity come forward and give the country the lead and the inspiration it needs.

The road which August Thyssen had to tread before he reached his present position of prominence was so steep and thorny that few men would have had courage enough to follow it to the end. Unlike most of those whose fortunes are a recent acquisition, he can trace his lineage back for a couple of centuries ; but the results give him no cause for feelings of aristocratic vanity. The ancestors of his family were small tenant farmers in the neighbourhood of Aachen.

In 1738 a fire burnt the house and out-offices to the ground, leaving the paterfamilias of the day, Lambert Thyssen, so impoverished that he had to abandon the farm and seek in Aachen some means of support for his wife and eight children. The Town Council gave him the care of the weighing machine in the haymarket, and in that position he remained until his death, twenty-five years later. Three of his sons became bakers in Aachen, and one of these did so well that he acquired before he died a bakery of his own. One of the latter's sons became assistant secretary to the Aachen Town Council, and his son again got a position in a wire factory at Eschweiler, where he finally rose to be director of the firm. Here in 1842 August Thyssen was born as the eldest of eight children. The father made every sacrifice to give his family a good education, so that August Thyssen passed successively from the primary school at Eschweiler to the Continuation School at Aachen, and thence to the most famous technical school in Germany at the period, the Polytechnicum at Karlsruhe. Strength of will, almost degenerating into obstinacy, tenacity in pursuing his aims, a prudent businesslike way in handling problems and extraordinary devotion to work are given as characteristics of the young student. His friends noted that the subject which occupied him most was the possibility of economic development, and that his interest in the details of machine construction, at which much time had to be spent, was always very secondary.

From Karlsruhe young Thyssen came for a while to Antwerp to get the foundations of a commercial education. Returned to Aachen he did his year of military service, and when that was happily ended, entered his father's business ; but just then the Austro-Prussian war broke out, and he was called to the colours. Königgrätz had been fought and won before Thyssen's regiment arrived, so that he was soon free again to return to his business career. In 1867 he founded, in partnership with two others, his first ironworks at Duisburg ; but the arrangement did not allow him the freedom he desired, and after a couple of years he dissolved the company.

The outcome of the Franco-Prussian war and the establishment of the new empire led at once to a feverish period of industrial expansion in Germany. Thyssen was but waiting to seize the opportunity. Early in 1871 he bought a small farm near Mülheim on the Ruhr and erected an iron-factory, the money for the undertaking being provided by his father. A tiny cow-house on the farm was slightly altered and ennobled with the title of " offices." In this unpretentious bureau August Thyssen sat at a little table,

combining in his person a host of different functions ; for he was not merely owner and director, but also bookkeeper, technical expert and sole commercial traveller of the firm. Shortly after dawn he appeared at the works, and the sun had set and the last worker had long gone off to his evening meal and rest when Thyssen closed his books and started on his meditative way homewards. He knew that the secret of success was to manufacture well and cheaply, and to buy and sell advantageously ; but between this theoretic knowledge and its working out in practice there was a gulf which it was often hard enough to bridge. All the more so when in 1873, the overdrawn bow of German industry snapped and firm after firm collapsed like so many houses of cards. Only undertakings that were of their nature healthy, that is to say, built on tenacious and persevering work and under first-class technical and commercial direction, survived the ordeal. It was the baptism of fire for the young Thyssen firm, and the owner could rejoice to see that it stood it unflinchingly.

A journey as commercial traveller to Russia secured for Thyssen many orders, so that even in the worst years of the German slump he could proceed systematically with the extension of the works. Until 1882 only iron from the puddle-furnaces was used ; then came enormous factories to avail of the Siemens-Marten process, and later of the Thomas process for the manufacture of steel. Sheet iron and zinc works, departments for pipe and boiler-making were also added, whilst a small repairing establishment began to transform itself gradually from 1884 onwards into a huge machine factory. By 1921 the iron and steel departments of the Thyssen works had increased to seventy times their size in 1874.

Hand in hand with the development of the iron-works went the acquisation of coalfields ; for without abundant supplies of coal for the furnaces the maintenance of the iron industry would be an utter impossibility. As early as November, 1871 Thyssen had bought his first mine and had continued thereafter to increase his coal possessions as often as opportunity offered ; but it was not until 1887 that coalfields covering an enormous area came into his hands. A rival company, the " Phoenix " of Bochum, had secured preferential rights of purchase over these fields, but had renounced its privilege owing to the poor prospect of working them at a profit. No greater proof of Thyssen's courage could be given than his willingness to assume a burden which the powerful Bochum firm thought too heavy for its shoulders. Events, it is true, proved how thoroughly the fears of the Phoenix company were justified,

and Thyssen had to live through moments when all hopes of working the mines successfully seemed to be gone for ever. But his skill, energy and perseverance at last won the upper hand, and the coalfields at Hamborn became one of the greatest assets of his firm. The time came in 1890 when he could erect beside these mines at Bruckhausen on the Rhine an ironworks of colossal size, still among the finest and most up-to-date which the world knows.

With wide-extending coalfields and with immense iron and steel works lying together on the bank of the great Rhine water-way, Thyssen's hopes for the future of his undertaking might well be rosy. As yet, however, the supplies of iron ore necessary for the furnaces lay outside of his control. In 1901 he began to remedy this defect by acquiring concessions in the ore districts of French and German Lorraine. The extent of these concessions may be seen from the fact that in 1912 15,000 acres of ore fields had come into his possession. Here, too, at Hagendingen in Lorraine a huge steel factory was erected in 1910 ; some idea is given of its size when it is stated that its private railway connections, linking up the various branches of the works with the local line, covered almost 100 miles. Slack mills, cement factories and a great central station for the generation of electricity were erected here at the same time.

So enormous, however, had the Thyssen steel factories now become that the ore from Lorraine no longer sufficed, and new concessions had to be secured in Southern Russia and in Northern France. The French fields caused him special worries, as at Caen in Normandy he had to set the mines in order, widen and deepen the canal from Caen to the sea, and then build a harbour of his own before he could get the ore away. At Cherbourg also he secured concessions ; but the mines lay under the sea and were flooded when they came into Thyssen's hands. Great energy, patience and technical skill were necessary before the mines could be made of any commercial value. In addition there was the hostility of the population and the wild excitement of the local press, which painted "le péril allemand" in lurid colours. Concessions were likewise won in Algiers and Morocco. To allay the French Government's fears Thyssen set up near Caen magnificent steel factories, fitted out with all the improvements which years of rich experience had seen introduced into the Bruckhausen works. The defeat of 1918 meant, of course, the loss of the French factory at Caen, of the factory at Hagendingen, of all the ore fields in France and the French colonies, of the ore fields in Luxembourg

as well as the great ore fields in Lorraine. The money value of the property thus lost would have been sufficient to ransom some fifty mediæval kings.

At Gladbeck in Westphalia Thyssen likewise secured coal mines, and in accordance with his usual practice set up at Meiderich near Duisburg a great foundry in which the coal mined at Gladbeck could find immediate use. Other works were erected or acquired at Duislaken on the Lower Rhine, at Dusseldorf, and even in the mark of Brandenburg. To supply the parent factories at Mülheim with water works were set up in 1892 in the Ruhr, and in 1908 were extended by the building of great new water works near Bruckhausen and Hamborn on the Rhine. These works now supply not only the factories but the neighbouring towns, with their population of over half a million souls. Gas to the extent of 100,000,000 cubic metres a year is also supplied to the local towns by the Thyssen firm, whilst recently the work of supplying electric current has likewise been undertaken.

By introducing suitable machinery into the mines it became possible to produce coal in one hundred times the old quantities. In 1894 the Thyssen miners for the first time numbered 1,000 ; by 1920 the number had reached 19,000. The iron and steel department advanced at the same rate, a point being made of keeping always prudently up-to-date, adopting new machines and new methods at whatever cost when better results could thereby be secured. From the Americans, with their exceptional mechanical skill and their genius for mass production, Thyssen learned valuable lessons. The machine department was also developed and reached its highest excellence during the war, when, by order of the Government, the firm had to devote all its powers to the making of munitions. The workers thus increased from 3,300 in 1913 to 7,000 in 1915, and to almost 24,000 in 1917. At the end of the war the production of munitions came to an end ; but machines for the manufacture of electric generators were successfully installed, with the result that in 1920 the machine department found employment for 6,760 hands.

The renovated cowshed which was Thyssen's bureau in 1871 is now represented by a huge building, about equal in size to the Dublin College of Science. At that time the firm was served by about 70 workers ; the numbers now are 60,000. Wages meanwhile grew from a yearly sum of 100,000 marks to 850 million marks in 1920, and now, largely of course in consequence of the depreciation of the currency, to many milliard marks per annum. As head of the Rhenish-Westphalian coal and iron syndicates Thyssen's place

in German industry is beyond that of either Krupp or Stinnes, and he can only be compared with the greatest of the American millionaires, like Rockefeller and Carnegie.

How hard the struggle was to make the undertaking a success is known to none but to August Thyssen. Difficulties with flooded mines, unprofitable seams, disappointing machines, insufficient capital, cruel competition, slack business, sometimes for what seemed to be an endlessly long period, are crowded into the fifty years of his industrial life. It was typical of Thyssen that he hid all his worries in the depths of his own heart and seldom mentioned them, even with a passing word, to the most intimate of his helpers. Silent, solitary and determined he went his rugged way. Often he could have eased his position considerably by putting the firm on a wider basis and admitting a multitude of shareholders ; but he preferred to keep the business in the fullest sense his own, and sought the necessary capital in the form of private credits. The confidence in his person was so great that the advances the banks were ready to make were simply unlimited. The terrible days which followed the war found him, as in so many other crises of his life, silent, tranquil, trustful. He set himself at once to change and transform as much as the new situation demanded, and then continued at his work as if nothing whatever had happened. Despite the almost insuperable difficulties the success of the firm had been put beyond question when a new deed of violence by the French set everything again in jeopardy. What the outcome of this tragic act of interference will be cannot, of course, as yet be foreseen.

The secret of August Thyssen's success lies chiefly in an extraordinarily harmonious blending of gifts as technical expert, organiser, merchant and financier. Hundreds of his contemporaries started abreast with him in the struggle, only to collapse after a short effort or to content themselves in the end with very petty achievements indeed. For the most part they suffered from one or other of two defects—they were either behind their age, in which case they soon became out-of-date and fell back into oblivion, or they were before their age, in which case their efforts were misunderstood and wasted. The renowned Krupp firm was at one time on the point of succumbing to the latter fault. It was Thyssen's genius to be always able to find the happy mean, knowing as if by instinct the highest point that could be reached, and arriving there, one might almost say, automatically. It is also obvious that the circumstances of the period were favourable to his enterprise ; for without the enormous impulse given to the

iron and steel industry in Germany from 1870 onwards even pre-natural genius would not have succeeded in bringing the giant Thyssen works into being.

It has been shown that August Thyssen is a man of penetrating understanding and steadfast will. He is blessed in addition with an exceptionally fine memory, a precious gift naturally for the head of a firm whose interests are so wide. He is also an excellent judge of character. His skill in selecting the proper men for the various positions of greater moment is truly remarkable. Once selected these are allowed the fullest possible independence. *Sic volo, sic iubeo* as a principle is foreign to Thyssen's nature ; when he meets his directors, it is to deliberate and not to command. All is done *viva voce ;* for he has an innate dislike for memoranda and long protocols. His way is rather to accompany the directors to breakfast or dinner at the works and there discuss with them the more important points that call for consideration. He likes to convince, but is willing to be convinced ; and once his resolution is taken, the director can go off in peace ; for he knows that if all goes well he will be praised as if success were due to him alone ; whereas if things go ill the head of the firm will insist on taking more than his due share of the responsibility.

In private life August Thyssen is most modest and unassuming. He lives simply, dresses simply, makes his journeys on foot or by tram like the most poorly paid of his employees. It may with truth be said that he knows but one passion, and that is work. As he wrote last year in one of his few public messages : "We in Germany are now looking for a deliverer to free us from our miseries. You may take it for granted that such a deliverer will not come from without, and if found at all will only be found among ourselves here at home. As a matter of fact our salvation is to be found in work and in work alone. Work makes the men healthy, and to no less a degree the nation. Work is the one infallible medicine for a nation like ours, sick with war and with the consequences of war." "If I rest, I rust," has been given as the quintessence of his practical philosophy, and with a large degree of justice, for he does not understand what idleness or slackness means. Even now in ripe old age he is up each morning at cock-crow and soon labouring at one or other branch of his great business. He practises no sport, plays no games, has no love for the theatre, has no time for art or literature. Only for sculpture does he show a mild interest ; six original works of the French sculptor Rodin decorate his home. Since 1903 he is the owner of a pretty mediæval castle on the Ruhr, the one external token of the grandeur he

could assume if he only willed ; but even this is rather a glorified office than a palace.

Away and beyond the crude material things of life he is brought by his religion ; for August Thyssen is a pious and devoted Catholic. Perhaps it is for this reason that his relations with his workmen have always been so excellent. Year after year he walked beside them to and from Sunday Mass, listening in his homely way to their wise discussions on politics and the weather ; and while the great sacrifice was being consummated he knelt in their midst before Him who can look on a fat banking account with indifference in deciding eternal destinies. What wonder if he felt a heavy sense of responsibility for the immortal souls entrusted to his keeping. The building of dwellings for 14,431 families and countless other benefits afford convincing proofs of his patriarchal care. To the 60,000 workers of the firm he is known exclusively as " the old gentleman " (*der alte Herr*), an evidence in itself of the mingled love and reverence with which he is regarded. Even among the Communists he is popular, notwithstanding the crime of having worked his way from nothing to industrial greatness.

August Thyssen is no politician ; but he recognises the value of the principles for which the Centre Party is struggling, and has at all times given it his open patronage. He is likewise a generous supporter of the Catholic press. His contributions to deserving objects of charity, though always secret, are known to be immense. For his zeal in building churches within the area governed by his influence he was granted the Order of St. Sylvester by Pope Pius X. ; this and the Iron Cross, conferred as a token of gratitude for his services to the Fatherland, are the only honours he ever consented to accept.

With a foreign general quartered in his home and foreign howitzers threatening to lay in ashes the proud monuments of a lifetime's work the sorrows of his declining days are heavy. Still with his son Fritz carrying on so capably the traditions of the firm, with a multitude of sturdy grandsons ready to play a manly part in bearing the firm's burdens, and with workers to whom the Thyssen name spells something very different from conscienceless exploitation, he can look with a certain confidence to the future. Whatever course events may take before the final summons comes, August Thyssen can at least feel assured that his name will be written with honour in the annals of his country, not merely for his giant achievements in the realm of industry, but still more for his sterling Catholic qualities as a toiler, a patriot, a philanthropist, and a man.

JOHN RYAN.

REVIEWS

Archaeology

THE BRONZE AGE AND THE CELTIC WORLD. By Harold Peake, F.S.A. London: Benn Bros. 1922. 42*s.* net.

This important work must be reckoned with in all future study of the Bronze Age in Europe. The author has collected together a vast array of facts, at first seemingly disconnected, and has fitted them together most ingeniously, like the pieces of a dissected puzzle, to form a connected and consistent picture. The substance of the book was delivered as a course of lectures at University College, Aberystwyth, early in the past year.

The problem which the author has set before himself is the determination of the area in which the Celtic languages originated, and the means by which they spread into the regions where we find them in historic times. Incidental to this leading subject of inquiry are minor but very important questions, namely, the cause of the differentiation of the "Q-Celts" and the "P-Celts," and the character of the populations that preceded the Celts in the regions where they are found, whose languages, according to some scholars, materially influenced the phonology and the syntax of the Celtic tongues which ousted them.

This latter question is first considered, and in his second chapter the author gives a bird's eye view of the history of population in the regions concerned, from the early Palaeolithic days onward. In such a brief sketch as this chapter contains there is no room for any special originality of treatment: but the author follows the latest authorities, and his account is readable and trustworthy.

The next chapter, a gathering together of the few facts as yet known on the subject of Bronze Age Trade, is much more important and is extremely interesting. The remarkable researches of Mr. O. G. S. Crawford on the distribution of the flat copper axe receive due appreciation, as well as the great importance of Ireland at this period as a source of gold. Some speculations as to the solution of that as yet unsolved problem, the time and place of the discovery of the art of metal-working, are included, and this continues into the following chapter, headed "The Prospectors"; where reason is shown for belief in the existence of a special race of people who devoted themselves to gold-hunting, and who, incidentally, spread the practice of dolmen-building over a large part of the European continent. With this race the author connects those *cruces* of ethnology, the Sumerians and the Etruscans. He admits as a difficulty that dolmens are not found either in Sumer or in Etruria;

but in any case it is satisfactory to see that the author is not inclined to accept the current heresy that derives the dolmen from the Egyptian *mustabah*.

It will be necessary to collect much more extensive ethnological material before any criticism, destructive or constructive, can be applied to this and to similar theories. The author brings his "Prospectors," naturally, to Ireland, and considers it possible that descendants of them may be found among the modern inhabitants of this country. It may be so: but until the Free State Government is in a position to establish the long overdue ethnological survey of Ireland, it will be perfectly impossible to investigate this very interesting hypothesis.

On the other hand, a criticism may here be adventured which also applies to the rest of the book. In the chapters that follow, on the ground of the distribution of various forms of pottery and of swords, the author reconstructs a bewildering series of invasions, to understand which it is almost necessary to draw a series of rough sketch-maps as one peruses the pages. It is impossible to summarise here the blocks of population which he moves over the continent as a chess-player moves his pieces over the board. And a doubt continually presents itself as to whether these complications are really necessary for the interpretation of the distribution of archaeological types; whether trade and barter do not equally account for them. In the Royal Irish Academy's museum there is a bronze vessel of Chinese provenance, which was dug up, *teste* Vallancey, in Ireland, at a depth of two feet under the soil; a friend of the present writer possesses a Chinese knife that was found in a Co. Donegal bog; and numerous Chinese seals have been found in various parts of the country from time to time. How these objects came to Ireland, and how they were deposited where they were found, no one can tell: but no one would suggest that they are relics of a Chinese immigration. And may we not with equal justification hold that the various types of swords and pottery and so forth, linking one part of Europe with another in the Bronze Age, are indications of intercourse rather than of invasion?

Continuing, the author in three following chapters attacks the "Aryan problem," the history of which he sketches in a few entertaining paragraphs. He accepts the current view which places the Aryan cradle somewhere in the Russian steppes, arguing against the Hungarian hypothesis of Dr. Giles, whom, however, he follows in calling the primitive Aryans by the not very beautiful name "Wiros." In his treatment of the "P" and "Q" problem he follows, with modifications, Sir John Rhys in his well-known but

much criticised paper in the *Proceedings* of the Philological Society for 1894. Two appendices, on Chronology (where we note with pleasure that the author favours the " short " Egyptian Chronology of the German school) and on Matrilinear Succession in Greece, conclude the book.

Reviewing the whole work, we repeat that it is a book that must be studied by all serious investigators of the difficult problems with which it deals : but we are not quite sure that the comparison with a picture-puzzle—which, homely though it be, was made without the least thought of depreciation—is altogether sound. For the separate pieces of a puzzle can be fitted together in one way only, and, accidental loss of individual pieces apart, the picture is complete when the puzzle is finished. But the facts collected by the author with an industry to which his Bibliography bears impressive witness, are not to be combined with such a rigid uniformity ; and the reader has occasionally an uncomfortable feeling that another student, approaching them from a different angle, could re-group them, and form another picture as probable as that which the author of the book before us sets forth with such persuasive skill.

Moreover, the materials are as yet imperfect. There is still much research to be carried out, and there are many unknown facts waiting to be brought to light, before we can with assurance essay the task of writing the history of what it is becoming the reprehensible fashion to call " Prehistory." But undoubtedly Mr. Peake has brought us many steps nearer that goal.

R. A. S. M.

Biography

THE SECOND EMPIRE. By Philip Guedalla. London: Constable. 1922. 16*s.* net.

LOUIS NAPOLEON AND THE RECOVERY OF FRANCE, 1848-1856. By F. A. Simpson. London : Longmans. 1923. 21*s.* net.

THE appearance of these two monographs, if not evidence, may at least be the occasion of increased interest in the career and fate of one of the most misunderstood and maligned personalities of the nineteenth century. Mr. Simpson's book especially should contribute very materially to a better understanding of that phase of Louis Napoleon's life with which it deals. Both authors have yielded to what is perhaps a not unnatural tendency—unduly to minimise the importance of the First Empire. In Mr. Guedalla's case this springs from a desire to trace the origin of Bonapartism

almost exclusively to the propagandist working of the exile's brain at St. Helena. Not the Empire as it was, but as it was seen through the favourable glasses which Napoleon supplied to his countrymen, laid the foundations of the Bonapartist tradition. Mr. Simpson, perhaps for a moment the unconscious victim of that neglect into which his hero has fallen, is anxious to increase the importance of the man and the institution which he has made the object of long years of careful and highly fruitful study. In this case, however, this momentary—for it seems unnecessarily and challengingly dragged in and only at the very beginning—falsification of perspective exercises no evil effect on the narrative. His subject does not stand in need of such factitious aids to interest as are provided by comparisons of such doubtful value. Even if not big enough to bear the very heavy burden which his opponents and admirers have placed on his shoulders, Louis Napoleon stood for enough and was of sufficient size to justify the scholarly care which Mr. Simpson has devoted to the elucidation of his character and aims.

These monographs have an important characteristic in common —they are eminently readable. Mr. Guedalla's book may not add anything to what was already known, nor, by the working over of material already to hand, contribute to a better understanding of Napoleon III ; but it succeeds in being, right through, unusually entertaining. At times perhaps the reader cannot avoid the feeling that the author is just too clever—and there are those whom this quality will occasionally irritate. There is hardly a paragraph that is not marked by palpable " straining after effect," and the reader is all too conscious of this. But the amazing thing is that the effort so frequently meets with success. Whether four hundred and fifty pages are not just a little too long to sustain the tension, is one of those questions on which tastes will differ. On the whole the book would not have lost in its effect if the author had remembered somewhat oftener that even good stories lose most of their point when they are not made relevant.

Our principal objection, however, is that in Mr. Guedalla's Louis Napoleon we have presented to us a shadow rather than a full-bodied personality. Of course this may be bad history without necessarily being bad art ; for it may be precisely the impression of Louis that the author wishes to convey. But even if this be his purpose, it is not easy to avoid the conclusion that we have here to do, not so much with the successful delineation or suggestion of a shadow, as with the indistinct and shadowy presentation of reality.

Right through the book runs a delicate vein of mockery, not to say cynicism. The author does not take his marionettes too seriously—and many may think that here he is not too far astray. He seems to have a like contempt for their work—an attitude which will not find such ready acceptance.

Mr. Simpson's study is of distinctly higher value. It is a much more serious contribution to the history of his subject and is animated with a very different spirit. He resumes the narrative where he dropped it in his previous work, *The Rise of Louis Napoleon*. He is now dealing with the most successful and least clouded years of his hero. The principal matters are Louis' advance from President of the Republic to Emperor, the Crimean War, and incidentally the transference of political dominance in Europe from Nicholas to himself, from Russia to France.

He is not as prodigal of his epigrams as Mr. Guedalla, but there are enough to add a pleasant liveliness to this sympathetic and thorough study. Moreover, they come naturally and are always relevant. For a biography intended for the general public some critics may find too much space devoted to the refutation of other historians. But the fault, if fault it be, is certainly not Mr. Simpson's. For though in few instances such polemics and apologetics may interrupt the even flow of the narrative, they are unfortunately none the less necessary. There are so many misconceptions and falsehoods to remove. A certain amount of appeal to the " sources " is therefore unavoidable—and Mr. Simpson does not carry the matter to excess. Here as in almost all other matters he displays a well balanced judgment in a biography which is the result of most conscientious and fruitful research.

Perhaps it might be well if he had made more explicit reference to his authorities in a point on which he calls attention to his difference from La Gorce—the one satisfactory historian of this period. This is the attitude of the people of France to the Crimean War. There is another point also—an even more important one—on which these two investigators, to whom the history of Louis Napoleon owes so much, are at variance—the difficult problem of the Italian policy. But the consideration of this properly belongs to the next monograph of Mr. Simpson. His achievement in the work already undertaken makes us hope that this future volume will not be long delayed.

J. M. O'S.

LUDENDORFF. Par le Général Buat. Paris : Payot. 1921. 6 fr.
LUDENDORFFS SELBSTPORTRAET. Von Hans Delbrück. Berlin : Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft. 1922.
HANS DELBRUECK EIN PORTRAETMALER? Von Wolfgang Foerster. Berlin : Mittler & Sohn. 1922.

A BIOGRAPHY of Ludendorff by the Chief-of-Staff to Marshal Foch's armies shows that the French retain a deep interest in him who, during the war, was undoubtedly their most formidable adversary. The author divides his book into four parts : L'Homme, Son Rôle, Ses Manoeuvres, Conclusion. The titles of the first and second chapters are so succinct that they convey little meaning, and the little they do convey is misleading. As a matter of fact, the first chapter gives a summary of Ludendorff's military career and has practically nothing to say on his more intimate personal qualities, whereas the second chapter deals almost exclusively with his political activities as *de facto* Commander-in-Chief. Logically this chapter would fit in better after Chapter 3, which describes in some detail the more important of Ludendorff's campaigns.

In these three chapters the author is dealing with facts either manifest to all the world during the war or disclosed later in the numerous *apologiae* of the German statesmen and generals. In Ludendorff's own three volumes of Memoirs the French writer found the richest materials for his study. For the most part Buat contents himself with recounting the facts just as he finds them in the sources, but here and there he adds some enlightening comments. Thus, in discussing the collapse of the German offensive of 1918 and the success of the Allied counter-offensive in the August of that year, he shows clearly the enormous part played by the American reserves. Without their aid the German attacks might have had a very different ending indeed, and in any case, the Allied offensive, if practicable at all, could not have taken the irresistible form it took.

The conclusion is naturally the most interesting chapter of Buat's book. Stupifying pride, unlimited selfishness, boundless ambition, belief in the incomparable grandeur of his own achievements, would seem to be the constituent parts of Ludendorff's character. He is a brilliant adventurer, tenacious in his hates, unscrupulous in his methods, as Commander-in-Chief little better than a Robin Hood at the head of a band of highwaymen, etc., etc. Still, it seems, Ludendorff's love of himself could have limits, for his love of his country was carried to a still more passionate degree. Germany for him was an idol, a divinity, worthy of being served and worshipped with a devotion mystic in its intensity. The

implied condemnation with which the French writer treats all this is very edifying; no doubt the Germans look with envy across their frontiers to the lands where generals, by a special dispensation of Divine Providence, know nothing of exaggerated nationalism.

The real value of Buat's book is that it shows a genuine appreciation of Ludendorff's qualities as a commander. Technical weaknesses which he finds here and there in his campaigns must be left to the military experts to discuss. Buat protests against the legend that the German armies retired unbeaten and that it was the revolution which was responsible for all Germany's misfortunes. In this he is quite right. The German armies left France only because they were incapable of further resistance, and, if the armistice had not come, they were destined to meet the most cruel of fates between the Moselle and the Dutch frontier. How far Ludendorff is responsible for this is another and a far more difficult question. He relates himself in his Memoirs that Prince Max of Baden, on assuming the Chancellorship, promised to find him 700,000 reserves. If even half that number had been found earlier the offensive might have taken a different course, and if forthcoming at the beginning of October the need for a conditionless surrender might never have arisen. The Government, especially that of Prince Max of Baden, and the Socialists who controlled it, have a heavy share of responsibility for the disasters that finally overwhelmed Ludendorff and his country.

It is psychologically very intelligible that a general entrusted with the supreme control of a nation's armies and decisively defeated should find at home the lights of a merciless criticism flashed on his every action. Ludendorff, like many another in history, has not been spared this painful prying into his conduct as commander. The veteran Berlin professor, Hans Delbrück, whose *Geschichte der Kriegskunst* won for him as far back as thirty years ago a reputation in military as well as in scholarly circles, published a number of essays against Ludendorff in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* during 1920. The complaints there formulated, enlarged and extended, appeared later in book-form under the title *Ludendorffs Selbstporträt*. Delbrück was a man when the Franco-Prussian war broke out. He saw the new German Empire come into being, then soar with ever-increasing speed until it reached giddy heights of glory; he saw its sudden fall; he sees now the makeshift republic pieced out of its remains grovelling in the dust, and his reflections are naturally sorrowful and bitter. Tirpitz and Ludendorff are, in his eyes, responsible for Germany's descent into the bottomless abyss. Interesting in the extreme is his examination

of Ludendorff's gifts both as a statesman and as a soldier. Delbrück will not concede that as a general Ludendorff can stand comparison with Foch, and yet, according to his account, Foch is a man utterly devoid of originality or any trace of genius, able to win an important victory only when the weakness of the enemy and his own strength demand nothing more than diligent mediocrity. Delbrück admits that Ludendorff's Eastern campaigns, both in idea and execution, were a work of the highest merit, but he holds that the chief credit for these goes to Hindenburg and the pre-war General Staff. A well-known military writer, Wolfang Foerster, replies to this in a booklet and shows fairly conclusively that Delbrück is mistaken. The sole effort to deprive Ludendorff of his military laurels must thus be regarded as a failure.

Much more important are Delbrück's comments on the political side of Ludendorff's activity. That the Commander-in-Chief should take an interest in his country's policy he does not deny; that he should take such an interest as to override the civil authorities, thus in practice establishing a military dictatorship, he finds criminal. Yet that was what Ludendorff did. He turned what was essentially a war of defence into a war of conquest, he took on himself the duties of the country's chief statesman. This would not have been quite so bad if either education or nature had given him the qualities necessary for such an office, but neither had. That aims should be kept within the limits of the attainable, a first principle for the statesman, he considered a sign of weakness or treason. Delbrück shows how near Germany was to peace in 1917, and what an unhappy part Ludendorff and his associates played in making the way to negotiations impassable. In condemning Ludendorff's attempt to dictate the policy of the state Delbrück will find general approval; in proceeding further to throw doubts on Ludendorff's military capacity he is on very unsafe ground, and will probably find as little support among historians of the future as he has found among competent writers of our own day. J. R.

DER HEILIGE FRANZ VON BORJA. Von Otto Karrer, S.J. Freiburg: Herder. 1921.

DES HL. IGNATIUS VON LOYOLA GEISTLICHE BRIEFE UND UNTERWEISUNGEN. Gesammelt und ins Deutsche übertragen Von Otto Karrer, S.J. Freiburg: Herder. 1922.

AUS DEM GEISTLICHEN TAGEBUCH DES HL. IGNATIUS VON LOYOLA. Von Alfred Feder, S.J. Regensburg: Pustet. 1922.

For the past thirty years the Spanish Jesuits have been busy

editing the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu.* The work is still far from completion, but the publication of this vast body of documents—over forty volumes have already appeared—has already begun to influence contemporary spiritual literature. The three volumes under review are a good illustration of the practical uses to which the new material can be put. Father Karrer gives us, first a standard biography of St. Francis Borgia—better even than Père Suau's well-known biography, and far more complete—and then a selection from the letters of St. Ignatius, translated into German with a careful commentary, based on the *Monumenta.* Father Feder's book is smaller in compass, but of peculiar interest : it contains a German translation of the surviving fragments of St. Ignatius' spiritual diary, with a critical Introduction and notes. What have we in English to compare with these three volumes ? Father Goodier's *Letters and Instructions of St. Ignatius Loyola* in *The Catholic Library* (Manresa Press, 1914) would, if complete, give us most of the material which Father Karrer and Father Feder have made accessible to German Catholics ; but the project has never got beyond a first small volume. And we have no life of St. Francis Borgia, or indeed of any other Jesuit saint of the period, which can be compared for a moment with Father Karrer's admirable and most readable biography. Is it too much to hope that some Catholic firm may see its way to publishing a translation ? Students of history would find in Father Karrer's pages a rich store-house of facts and documents, whilst few " Lives of Saints " have been written which give an equal insight into the workings of Divine Grace in one who was both a great saint and a great man.

A. G.

Celtica

BETHADA NAEM nERENN. Lives of Irish Saints. Edited from the original Manuscripts, with Introduction, etc. by Charles Plummer, M.A. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1922. Two volumes. 42*s.* net.

THESE volumes have been eagerly waited for. They constitute a supplement to the editor's collection of Latin Lives published in 1910. They contain the Irish text and an English translation of seventeen documents bearing on the acts of certain saints introduced to the reader in the earlier work. Mr. Plummer has limited his field of labour in two directions. There are many lives in Irish which are mere translations from the Latin. These are at once set aside as throwing no fresh light on the materials already known. On the other hand, some saints are commemorated

in Irish manuscripts, while no Latin account of them has come down to us. These, too, are excluded from the present editor's purview.

Let us say at once that every scholar in the country will welcome Mr. Plummer's work. A sound reliable text is presented, and in case the reader is unacquainted with Irish he may turn to an equally sound English translation in Volume II. Furthermore, notes and a series of indexes are provided. The personal and place-names are particularly well dealt with—in fact there is hardly another person in any country outside Ireland so capable in these departments as our editor.

The principal manuscripts from which the texts are derived are three in number. Two are compilations made by Brother Michael O'Clery, the chief of the Four Masters, and now preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels. The Lives were picked up by him from various sources to which he generally refers at the end of his separate transcripts. For example, this is what he says in regard to one :—"The poor friar, Michael O'Clery, copied this Life of Bairre at Cork, in the convent of the brethren, from a vellum book belonging to Domhnall O Duinnin, June 24, 1629." O'Clery was one of the best and most learned scribes of the later centuries. The forms of early Irish had no difficulties for him, and he states himself that he had express instructions from his superiors to follow his originals carefully. His copies were intended for the use of the noble band who undertook the task of publishing the ecclesiastical antiquities of Ireland at Louvain in the second quarter of the seventeenth century. Some precious fruits of that enterprise we have in Father John Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum* (1645) and *Trias Thaumaturga* (1647). Colgan's and O'Clery's death interfered with it, but fortunately the ravages of time have spared many transcripts made by the latter, so that scholars of our age have been able to take up the work where the brilliant Franciscans of nearly three hundred years ago were obliged to break it off.

The third manuscript drawn upon largely in these volumes was written by Domhnall O Duinnin in Cork in 1627 for Francis O'Mahony, Provincial of the Friars Minors in Ireland. More than likely its transcription was connected with the same project as the two just spoken of. Through the younger Charles O'Connor it came to the Stowe library in England, and is now in the possession of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin.

Though we are thus provided with certain details regarding the principal sources drawn upon by the editor, still the age of the

separate Lives will hardly ever be established with certainty. They are written in an artificial archaic style which prevents us from making any deductions from their language forms. The Latin collections are similarly undateable. But the Latin type seems to have been the model after which the Irish "Life" was fashioned, inasmuch as we have many texts demonstrably versions from Latin, but none derived in the converse manner.

Reference has been made to Mr. Plummer's ability to decipher and translate Irish with accuracy. This ability is amply confirmed in these volumes. Further, the style of reproduction is so minute that where there might be a doubt as to the proper reading we have indications by special type as to the letters or syllables expressed by contractions. For instance, there is a phrase on page 49, Volume I. :—ni raibhe do beth*ad* aca acht ubhla ; the editor is at fault here, as the contracted word should read "beth*aid*," but the type indicates that Mr. Plummer has in the case merely misexpanded an abbreviation. Examples like *i nbhar* "in your" and *i ngach* "in every" on page 57 are improper word-divisions. The classical Irish had *in bhar* and *in gach*, though the forms as printed are represented in Munster Irish of to-day. The editor has also read here and there aspiration marks which, if they exist in the manuscripts at all, are errors ; *diomh*, *tughadh*, and *Moeogh*, pages 182-3, should be *diom*, *tugadh* and *Moeog*. Very strange, too, is *esbudh* "bishop," which the Dublin copy appears to have universally ; the correct word is, of course, *esbog*, or some variant of that spelling. *Na tri caocca naoimh-cleirigh* (page 193) should read *na tri caocca naoimh-chleirech*, and there are other mistakes of the kind ; but nearly all the reader can correct for himself in consequence of the great care taken to indicate the actual conditions in the manuscript.

Under the stress of persecution the Franciscans were obliged to recede from the Irish towns in James the First's reign and later. They generally settled in the neighbouring country, but from these documents the interesting fact emerges that the new settlement retained the name of the original home. The friars of Athlone retired to Killinure in Westmeath on the shore of Lough Ree, yet the latter foundation is named "the convent of the friars of Athlone" at page 124 of Plummer's first volume. Again, Drobhaois, or Bundrowes, is referred to as the "monastery of Donegal" (page 182). In somewhat similar fashion the newcoming religious Orders transferred English or Continental names to Ireland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

A word in conclusion. Regarding the identification of Loch

Irce, Mr. Plummer appeals to the occurrence of the name Dundareirke, and interprets that designation in a certain way. The true Irish form of it, if we may credit Michael Og O Longan, is *dún dá radharc.* If O Longan is right, Mr. Plummer's case, Volume II., 375, falls to the ground. PAUL WALSH.

RÉILTHÍNÍ OÍR. Cuid a Dó. An t-Ath. Seóirse Mac Clúin do Scríobh. Comhlucht Oideachais na h-Eireann. 1922. 5*s.* glan.

Ní ró-fhada an mhoill chuir an t-údar léigheanta orainn ag feitheamh le cuid a dó den tsáir-leabhar so. Tá toradh a chuid oibre tríd síos ó ' a ' go h-' u ' anois againn, agus ' fuighleach beag ' mar aon leis. Na buadhanna céadna do bhí ag gabháil leis an gcéad chuid, táid ag gabháil leis an gcuid seo fós .i. saibhreas agus líomhthacht, cruinneas agus fairsinge chainnte a áitigheas go soiléir, socair fuinneamh na Gaedhilge i gcúrsaí eoluíochta agus i gcúrsaí fo-dheifríochta focal do chur i gcéill. Uime sin in aimhmheoin a n-abrochad im dhiaigh, tuigeadh cách gur an-mhór ar fad mo mheas ar an leabhar. Marar mhór, ni ghoillfeadh a lochta orm an méid a ghoillid. Acht sé is mian liom, sa léirmheas ghearr so, a iomad deagh-threith do ghabháil lem ais, agus mo mhéar do leagaint go héadtrom, réidh, ar an bhfo-locht is dearmhad a thugas fé ndeara ann.

(1) Ní fheadar féin an aontochaidh gach aoinne liom, sa mhéid seo, nó nach n-aontochaidh,—acht ní dóigh liomsa, ar aon tslighe, gur cóir cló do chur riamh ar rudaí mar ' tán tú ' ' taoin tú ' (acht chomh beag le, cuir i gcás, ' I bees,' ' we beant ' i mBéarla),—muna maith le h-údar úirscéil nó úrchluiche, i ngreas chomhráidh, cainnt léice chodramánta gan eolas do chur in iúl.

(2) Ní mór, dar liom, ná go bhfuil crutha mar ' féinig,' ' céilig,' ' cuirimíst ' gach pioc chomh dona céadna.

(3) Nuair thugann sé dhúinn crutha canúna, mar ' lainncide,' ' cnuig ' . . . nár bhfeairrde an leabhar é, ó thaobh na h-eoluíochta, dá mb' áil leis na crutha dílse, caighdeáin do chur le na dtaobh dúinn, ar an gcuma so :—cnuig (cnuimh) ?

(4) Má leanaid údair údarásacha leo ag ceadú dhóibh féin abartha de leithéid ' tá lámh á *dh*éanamh,' ' in ionad camán ceart,'—gan i gceist acht aon chomán amháin,—ni fheadar-sa cad bhus cor do ghramadaig na teangan ar ball. Ní bheidh bun ná barr léi. Is feas dom, dar ndó, abartha mar, ' tá obair mhór dá *dh*éanamh aige ' bheith le fagháil go fairsing, flúirseach, foraoir ! in iris-leabhartha na linne, acht dearmhad do bhí ionnta an chéad lá, agus ní fios d'aoinne cad bheas ionnta i ndeire na scríbe !

(5) Cad do bheir don údar 'meón,' sé sin, 'meadhón' agus 'meon,' ag a bhfuil dlúth-bhaint le 'méin' agus le 'mens' na laidne,—cad do bheir dó aon phruit amháin do dhéanamh asta ? Nár shoiléirede a mhíniú acht iad do choimeád deighilte amach ó na chéile, fé mar ba dhual athar is máthar dóibh. Raghadh so do shochar an leabhair féin, óir chidhfeadh an léightheoir is daille gur ó mheón do 'mheonúil' agus ó mheadhón do 'mheonuíocht,' sé sin mheadhónuíocht.

(6) Dála 'líobaim' de, níor mhiste 's' tosaig an fhocail seo do chur roimhe ar a laghad mar seo '(s)líobaim.'

Ní beag an méid so, béidir, mar nod ar na slighte nar mhaith liomsa go ndéantaoi an leabhar d'fheabhasú.

Do rinne Comhlucht an Oideachais a gcion féin den obair go slachtmhar, maisiúil. Thugadar dúinn leabhar an-thairbheach go saor, deagh-chló is deagh-chlúdach air agus deagh-pháipéar ann. Ní fhágann san, áfach, gan locht ar fad iad. Mar, ní dóigh liom gur léigheadh fromhanna na coda so chomh cúramach agus do léigheadh fromhanna na chéad choda. Dá bhithin sin, ní róghann ar fuaid an leabhair dearmhaid chló agus focail is abartha ar fán. Micheál MacCraith.

EACHTRADH EIBHLIS I dTÍR NA NIONGANTAS. Pádraig Ó Cadhla do chuir Gaedhilg ar an sgéal. Maunsel agus Roberts. 1922. 4*s*. a luach.

'San am fadó bhíodh sé le rádh le cuid do na deórataí a thagadh go hÉirinn go mbídís, leis an aimsir, ní ba Ghaedhealaigh ná na Gaedhil iad féin. 'Sé sin go díreach mar a tharla i dtaoibh Eibhlís Bheag sa sgéal áluinn sin a chum Lughaidh Ó Cearbhaill i mbéarla dá ngoirtear "Alice in Wonderland."

Tógann Pádraig Ó Cadhla an cailín beag seo eidir lámhaibh, mar adéarfádh, agus le slaitín dhraoidheacht na Gaedhilge déanann sé chomh Gaedhealach í is go dtiúbhrádh an leabhar go raibh sí in a comhnuidhe i nGaedhealtacht na Rinne ó thús ama. Tuigeann Eibhlís bheag an bhuaidh atá i nGiobsal chun cneadhacha a leigheas ; agus tá fhios aice san am chéadna goidé an chaoi a gcuireann Fionán Mac Colum a mhéar ar a smig, agus a lámha in a phócaí. Nach hé an truaigh ghéar nach raibh a léithide seo do leabhar againn sa nGaedhilge nuair a bhíomar féin beag ? Dá mbeadh, ní dóighide go sguirfeadh sinn ó léigheamh Eachtraí Iongantacha Eibhlís agus an coinín cainnteach bán, no go mbeadh an leabhar léighte againn ó thosach go deireadh.

Tá na peictiúirí a rinne Úna de hÍde agus K. Verschoyle go

deas freisin, agus cuireann siad slacht ar an leabhar, gan trácht ar bith ar an sult a bhéarfas siad do'n aos óg—agus go deimhin dóibh seo nach bhfuil óg, chomh maith céadna.

An léightheóir Gaedhilge nach bhfuil an leabhar léighte aige cheana fhéin ba cheart dó a cheannach ar an toirt.

TOMAS UA CONCHEANAINN.

Classics

VOM ALTERTUM ZUR GEGENWART : Die Kulturzusammenhänge in den Hauptepochen und auf den Hauptgebieten. 2nd edition. Leipzig : Teubner. 1921. 9*s.* 6*d.*

IN this book we have an interesting companion volume to the English *Legacy of Greece* ;[1] the two make a complete and fascinating study from different points of view. The English book is a series of essays explaining the debt of Europe to Greece in single compartments such as Religion, Philosophy, Art, Literature. It purports more to set forth the positive advances made by the Greeks than to discuss their influence as such. The German work is more methodical and philosophical in its treatment. It is divided into two parts ; in the first we have the lines of connection between Ancient and Modern treated in general, in such a way that we get a history of the classical tradition and of European reactions to it from the fall of the Roman Empire till modern times.

In the second part the contributions of Greece to civilisation are discussed as in the English book under separate headings, only more fully. Thus we have an excellent summary by Prof. E. Meyer of the most modern conclusions on the City State and its institutions, such as slavery ; and this is followed by three essays on the influence of Greek political ideas on modern times, on Roman Law, and on the Greek conception of Law. Next come education, linguistic, the science of history, the literatures of Germany, the Latin countries, and England, art, religion and philosophy, mathematics and the sciences. In each of these departments we are shown how the Greeks made the first great advances, as in linguistic by their development of vowel-signs and emphasis on the word, or how their ideas have remained a living force down the ages, as in philosophy, where we see how the moderns still dispute ancient problems, or in English literature, where, in characteristic German fashion, the guiding principle is shown to be a conflict between " Semitismus " and " Humanismus." On

[1] Edited by R. W. Livingstone (*Clarendon Press.* 1921. 7/6).

the whole, however, the English book has the advantage in this department. There is nothing in the German work to equal Dr. Burnet's and Dean Inge's essays on Philosophy and Religion respectively ; but it makes up for this by its fuller treatment.

To us the most interesting half of the book was the first, in which the continuity of the European tradition is clearly established and the Middle Ages placed in their perspective over against the Renaissance and modern "Enlightenments." Once again, in essay after essay, the old idea of the Middle Ages as an aberration in culture is exploded. One sentence from the essay on "State, Church, and Civilisation," by Dr. K. Holl, of Berlin, is worth quoting as an example : "Es ist heute nicht mehr nötig, die kindliche Meinung zu bekämpfen, als ob mit der Renaissance im 14ten Jahrhundert etwas vollkommen Neues begonnen hätte. Mann kann mit mehr Recht sagen : die Renaissance geht durch das ganze Mittelalter hindurch" (p. 39). Unfortunately this conception of history is not so well established as yet in either England or Ireland as to need no champion. All these essays have the same lesson : that the Roman Empire decayed of internal weakness, and that the process of recovery in literature and the arts began even with Boethius and Cassiodorus. The role of the Church in this process is justly recognised, although in general the tendency in the book is to equate Germanentum and Humanismus, Christianity and the Lutheran diaspora which disintegrated it. The sketch of early church history (also in Dr. Holl's essay) is rather misleading in its emphasis on all the external influences of which Reitzenstein, Harnack, and German theologians generally are so fond. The essays on the Renaissance, on "der Neuhumanismus" (the German classicist movement led by von Humboldt) and on the tradition in the 19th century, are perhaps the most instructive part of the book, showing the gradual change from the "idealism" of Winckelmann, Hegel and their contemporaries to the "Positivismus" of Wilamowitz, Meyer, and Pöhlmann, and the curious reversal to exploded ideas of Oswald Spengler.

Enough has perhaps been said to show the almost inexhaustible interest of this book for the student of history and civilisation. It is written in a clear, crisp fashion, and once one has been acclimatised to the German love for abstract generalisations, it will be found thoroughly readable, while free from the facile sentimentality that sometimes offends one in its English counterpart.

M. T.

Economics

TRUSTS IN BRITISH INDUSTRY, 1914-1921. By J. Morgan Rees. London: King. 1922. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

THE well-known report of the British Ministry of Reconstruction contains a full account of the trusts and combines in England at the end of the war, and the information contained in that report has now been brought up to date by Mr. Morgan Rees, Lecturer in Economics at Aberystwyth. "The very modest purpose of this book," the author tells us in his opening paragraph, "is to set forth the facts as to the present position in British industry, facts which though they have been made public in a mass of official reports have received small attention from the Press and those who depend upon it for information. In brief, the object here pursued is to trace the growth of the trust movement in British industry since the Armistice; to point out the connexion between this new structure of business organisation and the level of prices, and finally to show the influence of its power in politics and over the general well-being of the community." We can say with confidence that Mr. Morgan Rees has completely succeeded in the task which he has undertaken.

The book opens with a short historical introduction. We are told that "America is the true home of the trust, which may be defined as any association of producers or distributors, permanent rather than temporary, which has for its object the regulation of output and the determination of prices." In Germany, which was the next country to exhibit signs of industrial combination on a large scale, selling syndicates, or cartels, played a very important part before the war. "Every branch of German production was subject to control by a Central Selling Agency of some kind, while in the manufacture of synthetic dyestuffs, drugs, photographic developers and chemicals of all kinds, including scientific instruments, the German method of organisation had become so efficient as to constitute practically a European if not a world monopoly." In Great Britain, on the other hand, the commercial tradition was rather that of free competition and open markets, and the tendency to combine did not therefore show itself as early as in other countries. The beginning of the present century, however, witnessed the growth of many trusts and selling arrangements, a movement which was greatly accelerated by the outbreak of war. "The war," according to Mr. Morgan Rees, "came on us unprepared, and its immediate effect was a transformation of British industrial organisations which had the effect of bringing our country

into line with the inevitable trustification movement in other countries."

After the Armistice the tendency became still more noticeable. The whole experience of war conditions proved the advantages of combination over competition. "Business men had met together during the war on advisory committees under some Ministry or other. It was quite natural, therefore, for these meetings to result in much closer association, understanding, and, finally, financial groupings after the Armistice. The year 1919 will be found to be a phenomenal one for regroupings of old companies, fusions, new capital issues, unprecedented prices and profits, and finally for new permanent combinations or trusts." The movement has since progressed so rapidly that the author is of opinion that "British trade is at present under the paramount control of large combines, governed and directed by the large money and banking trusts. . . . Trustification has taken the place of competition in the sphere of British industry."

The author gives a detailed account of the condition of individual industries, and this part of the book will be invaluable to students of the subject. The measures suggested to safeguard the interests of the consuming public are the nationalization of the primary industrial enterprises of power and transport, and the fullest publicity with regard to industrial combinations. Into the merits or defects of these suggestions we have not space to enter, but we must not conclude without referring to the great importance of the control of finance and banking. The author draws attention to the fact that banking amalgamations were a striking feature of the post-war period, and that at the present day there is practically a "money-trust." The existence of the huge amalgamated banks places the whole future of industry in the power of a few individuals. This must be a matter of serious concern to all who are interested in the industrial development of Ireland, in view of the fact that two Irish banks have already been amalgamated with gigantic English concerns. If this movement towards the amalgamation of English and Irish banks advances much further, it will entail the consequence that the capitalization of new projects in Ireland will be altogether dependent on the good will of a group of English financiers. Such a prospect is full of danger and must at all costs be avoided. The whole question of the influence of British trusts on Irish industry and commerce is one which will have to be studied as soon as our civil commotions cease; and when the study of this subject is undertaken, Mr. Morgan Rees's book will be of invaluable assistance. G. O'B.

Fiction

ABDICATION. By Edmund Candler. London: Constable. 1922. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

In this book the author puts before us a calm yet arresting description of India as it is to-day. To be honest, one must confess at the outset that to review the work properly, to pronounce with authority on its accuracy, a more intimate knowledge of the conditions which obtain in "the great Dependency" than that to which I can lay claim is essential. One feels, however, that Mr. Candler has reproduced the "atmosphere" successfully. Especially so in the case of Riley, the young English journalist whose sympathies are with the *Swaraj* movement, who is conscious of the patriotism and nobility of Ghandi, and who can, at the same time, see through the weaknesses, the venality, and the petty-mindedness of lesser figures in the agitation.

The India that Mr. Candler depicts for us is not the India of Mrs. Croker, or of Miss Ethel M. Dell. It is the India of "Non-Co-operation." It is India seething with discontent after Amritsar; the India that Dyer and O'Dwyer have done their "bit" to make. For Irishmen the book has a peculiar interest, so much that it contains reminds one vividly of the "agitations" in our own country prior to the Truce of 1921. One is afforded a very good glimpse of the "Sympathetic" Englander, as we have known him, in this reflection of Riley's: "It must be beastly being run by foreigners. I should hate it. Of course, it was all right before they began to worry about these things. What a bore it must be to be politically minded, if one happens to be of a subject race." When the earnest journalist animated by these sentiments drops into the club and airs his views, it may be assumed that he is not given a very cordial reception. The club "talk," by the way, strikes one as being very faithfully recorded.

Natives in the shape of Barkatullah and Banarsi Das and others —even Ghandi himself, the Arthur Griffith of India—figure largely in the book, and the reader cannot but admire the effort of the author to comply with Othello's dictum in the telling of his tale. Strictly speaking the book is not a tale, not a story. It is a study of Anglo-Indian politics of to-day and, despite the absence of extenuation or malice, propagandist at that. The book contains no "plot" in the accepted sense, and is remarkable inasmuch as no female character appears in its pages. Perhaps it may be criticised as being a little heavy, somewhat lacking in a power to thrill. No doubt the author would reply that he was not aiming

at producing this effect. Yet the account of the riot following on Barkatullah's speech to the crowd from the steps of Amir Khan's mosque has a quality of tameness that leaves one disappointed. The description of the "hartal" in the opening chapter shows Mr. Candler's style to better advantage.

Mention has been made of the Irish analogy; but there is one consideration which cannot be ignored. In nationality and in religion we differed from our English rulers, but the "colour" problem did not present itself. Moreover, Irish and British are alike Europeans.

> "*East is East, and West is West,*
> "*And never the twain shall meet.*"

These lines explain much of the difficulties that White domination has given rise to in India. Mr. Candler allows his reader ample opportunities to realise this fact. He shows the underlying hate and distrust of the two races, a distrust that exists even though the native thinks he may get fairer treatment in a British Court. All subject peoples are liable to exhibit this paradox of confidence in the conqueror. The Imperialists' attitude to the Indian problem is that Britain must rule or get out. The more Liberally inclined are disposed to think that a species of "Home Rule" will meet the difficulty. It is clear that Mr. Candler holds the view expressed in the title of his book—the trend of British policy, has been towards, and must end in ABDICATION. We have known that policy adopted elsewhere. W. D.

History

LA COMPAGNIE DE JESUS EN FRANCE. Histoire d'un Siècle: 1814-1914. Par Joseph Burnichon, S.J. Tome IV.: 1860-1880. Paris: Beauchesne. 1922. Pp. 706. 24fr.

THE penultimate volume of this elaborate history of the restored Jesuit activities in France is concerned with the last ten years of the Second Empire and the ten years which preceded the expulsion decrees of 1880. The balance of intellectual interest lies almost altogether in the earlier periods; and the important topics which are there handled with all the delicate frankness of the candid family diarist will be found to be of durable interest. At times this interest tends to become dramatic; but the skilled historian has the knack of sweeping his narrative along to a terse conclusion or summary, and avoids the climax as much as possible. This is done by turning to the exposition of active works—the foundation of colleges, pious publications, foreign missions: the material of

this type is even superabundant, and is set forth in chapters always clear and well-ordered, though somewhat out of proportion to the great issues of more durable importance.

These are of the intellectual order, even though at times they have a repercussion of a more practical and active nature. By far the most interesting is the story of the foundation and development of the great Review of the Jesuit Order in France, founded in 1856 and continued, with certain modifications in its subtitles, ever since that year. The relations, not always of the smoothest character, of the editorial staff of the Review with the local religious authorities, secular and regular ; the attitude towards it, especially in the critical years 1864-1870, of the Roman authorities, mediate and ultimate, are set out from confidential documents : and the sustained interest of all this is not lessened by the plain fact that the historian is inclined to range himself with the more severe critics of the Review, on such vital issues as its attitude towards the Syllabus, towards the controversies about human liberty, and in the preludes to the Ecumenical Council. This Standpoint of criticism is maintained throughout : it is also seen in the earlier pages that deal with the controversies as to Ontologism and Traditionalism.

If it may be allowed to base an opinion on the evidence as cited by the writer, one would incline to say that the case he evidently takes to be well-founded is by no means proven. Letters, critical opinions, and the like are not always as considered and definite as he appears to think ; and in some distinct particulars they are too vague and general to be of historical value at all. The Review came through safely : this is very good, even if not conclusive evidence of the reasonableness of its position on these burning questions.

The dramatic quality is reached on two great occasions—the irregular visitation made by Archbishop Darboy in Paris, a few years before the war of 1870 ; and the massacre of the hostages in Paris, which was a resultant of the national disorder arising from that war. Père Olivaint played a notable part, as is well known, on both occasions ; and a finer part, all readers will confess, on the second. The situation, doctrinal and otherwise, which led to these two events, is well worthy of special study in many countries to-day. The incidental lessons of modern history are often the most valuable.

The score of years dealt with in this volume have naturally much to tell on questions of education. Putting aside the wealth of local and personal detail, several general topics are more clearly seen.

The controversy on paganism in classical education ; the historical aversion of the Jesuit Order from boarding schools ; the questions of catechetical method, of a completely direct method in teaching Latin are all worthily handled. We could have wished for a fuller treatment of the origins of Apostolic Schools, and of the exact scope of their work, as distinct from the seminary and from the usual secondary school. T. C.

SCANDINAVIAN RELATIONS WITH IRELAND DURING THE VIKING PERIOD. By A. Walsh. Dublin : The Talbot Press. 1922. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

THIS little volume—which was accepted for the Research Degree Certificate of Cambridge University—will be useful to those interested in the subject ; but it can hardly be described as a serious contribution to the history of the Scandinavians in Ireland. As a matter of fact there is no book yet published that has summarised for us the ample material available for a work of this kind. Miss Walsh quotes, no doubt, from the various Irish Annalists and from recent Scandinavian scholars like Bugge, Marstrander, and Vogt ; but she has missed many modern essays—notably some valuable papers in the *Journal of the Ui Ceannselaigh Historical Society* and the *Louth Archaeological Journal.*

The subject of Norse names is dismissed in a couple of paragraphs, although a whole volume could be written on Norse surnames and place names. Again, to take two examples of imperfect knowledge of the " growth of the seaport towns," Waterford and Wexford may be cited. Miss Walsh does not seem to be sure that Wexford teems with Scandinavian memories, and even as late as 1285 the Ostmen of Wexford sent a petition to the Lord of the Liberty of Wexford for confirmation of their privileges in the district of Rosslare. Downey's *Story of Waterford* and Butler's *Barony of Gualter* would have yielded material for two interesting chapters, as also Griffith's *Chronicles of Co. Wexford* and the *Journal of the Waterford Archaeological Society.*

The chapter on " Expansion of Irish Trade " strangely ignores the splendid research work of " Sean Ghall," especially his chapter on " Early Irish Trade, Commerce and Shipping " in *Leabhar na hEireann* (1909). It would be well, too, if the chapter on " the Vikings and the Celtic Church " had been based on more up-to-date material than *the Whole Works of Sir James Ware.* Incidentally, the date for the Synod of Kells was 1152 not 1132.

However, as has been stated, this little book fills a want, while the bibliography is tolerably full. W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

Hymnology

THE EASTER SONG OF SEDULIUS. With Introduction, Verse-translation and Appendices. By George Sigerson. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1922. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

In the note which he has appended to his treatise, *Of the Religion professed by the Ancient Irish*, Archbishop Ussher tells us that it was his "principal intention" to "produce such evidences as might show the agreement that was betwixt our ancestors and us [the Protestants] in matters of religion, and to leave the instances which might be alleged for the contrary to them unto whom the maintaining of that part did properly belong." There is an engaging frankness about this admission which wins our sympathy. If you have a case to defend, why not make the best of it? Dr. Sigerson has certainly followed this golden rule. In his learned Introduction to the present volume, he states in full his case for the Irish nationality of Sedulius, working out in great detail a theory as to the influence of Celtic literature on Latin poetry, which is already familiar to readers of his *Bards of the Gael and Gall.* The array of facts adduced in support of this theory does credit to Dr. Sigerson's patient industry, and nobody could quarrel with a scholar who lets us know (p. 26) that St. Jerome accused St. Hilary of having (literally) "a Gallic brogue." There are, of course, "instances which might be alleged for the contrary" of Dr. Sigerson's main thesis. If they are not mentioned in his Introduction, we can only conclude that the author has left these less tractable facts "to them unto whom the maintaining of this part does properly belong." Will Dr. Sigerson forgive a reviewer who ventures to take upon himself this ungrateful task?

With one important point in Dr. Sigerson's contention I am in full agreement. There is no antecedent impossibility in the hypothesis that Sedulius, one of the most cultured spirits of his day, was an Irishman. Those who would question this statement should remember St. Jerome's words about the Irish critic of his Commentary on St. Paul. Whether these words be taken as referring to Pelagius, as seems to me more probable, or to someone else, they show that a cultured Irishman was no impossibility in the Graeco-Roman world of the fifth century. But what evidence have we that Sedulius was an Irishman? The name, as Dr. Sigerson himself admits, proves nothing; it is a good Roman name. No clue to the poet's nationality is given by any statement of the poet himself. The brief biographical notices which we possess (they may possibly go back to Gennadius) leave us under the

impression that he was an Italian, and state expressly that he spent his life in Greece and Italy. Dr. Sigerson, it is true, argues that, when these notices tell us that Sedulius was "a Gentile" before his conversion to Christianity, they mean that he was a non-Roman barbarian; an ingenious, but not very convincing argument. Five centuries after the poet's life-time, Dicuil, one of the wandering Irish scholars on the Continent (see Studies for March, 1914), speaks of "Sedulius noster"; but the phrase seems used to distinguish Sedulius the Christian from the poets of Pagan Rome. Lastly, in the 15th century, Abbot Trithemius of Sponheim tells us that Sedulius was "a priest, a Scot by nation, and a disciple of Hildebert, Archbishop of the Scots." Lest we should have any doubts as to the accuracy of these statements, Dr. Sigerson hastens to assure us (p. 5) that Abbot Trithemius "probably found old authority" for his facts amongst the manuscripts which have perished from the library of Sponheim. He does not tell us, however, that Trithemius gives us a list of works written by "Sedulius," making it plain that he has identified the poet of the fifth century with his name-sake, the Irish scholar of the ninth century; a confusion which seems to have given rise to what Dr. Sigerson calls "the general belief that Sedulius was an Irishman."

Dr. Sigerson is too good a scholar to rest his case on such flimsy evidence as this. For him, the decisive argument is to be found in the poetic form used by Sedulius. Sedulius uses rhyme freely; end-rhymes in his hymns, and internal rhymes in his hexameters. Dr. Sigerson also holds that he uses the consonantal alliteration familiar to readers of Irish poetry. Hence his main argument: that we have, in the poems of Sedulius, an example of Irish laws of rhyme applied to Latin verse. The analysis which he gives of certain selected passages is as ingeniously elaborate as the analysis of similar instances examined by him in his *Bards of the Gael and Gall.* Readers must judge for themselves; they will be interested in Dr. Sigerson's presentment of his case, even though they are not convinced.

There is, of course, a contrary hypothesis in explanation of the facts; and it may be as well to state it here. Literary Latin, as used by the classical poets and orators, was essentially a quantitative language; during the later centuries of the Roman Empire, and largely owing to the growing preponderance of provincial writers and students, it became predominantly an accentual language. The change is especially marked in the history of Latin prose, where we can trace, century by century, a steady transition from quantitative to accentual prose-rhythms. In poetry, this

transition takes the form of eking out a declining sensitiveness to the music of quantity by an appeal to vowel-rhymes. Even in classical poetry, internal rhymes—between the two halves of a pentameter or (less frequently) of a hexameter—are familiar to students; but they seem to have been avoided as a blemish. In later poets, they become increasingly frequent. End-rhyme, of an exceedingly monotonous type, is to be found in the verses of Commodianus, who wrote accentual hexameters—and what hexameters!—towards the end of the 3rd century. Both internal rhymes and end-rhymes are to be found in the poems of Juvencus, Prudentius, and St. Paulinus of Nola; the last-named being of special interest, because his prose is notable for its exaggerated accentual rhythms. There is, therefore, nothing to surprise us in the appearance of internal rhymes in the *Carmen Paschale;* and the use of end-rhymes in the hymns of Sedulius—a notable departure from St. Ambrose's practice—is in accordance with the same law of development. We might even go a step further, and argue that this increasing tendency to use rhyme in Latin poetry finds its logical sequel in the over-elaborate rhymes of early Irish poetry; Ireland thus owing the use of rhyme to Rome, not *vice versa*, as Dr. Sigerson would have us believe. For there are those who hold that the earliest forms of Irish poetry are without rhyme: a very awkward fact for Dr. Sigerson's whole theory. But that is a question outside the competence of the present reviewer.

We have said nothing about Dr. Sigerson's admirable verse-translation, nor about his learned Appendix on Milton's use of Sedulius and other Latin Christian poets. But it would be an impertinence to praise Dr. Sigerson as a translator of poetry. Those who have the good fortune to possess a copy of the *Bards of the Gael and Gall* will be glad to place beside it this companion-volume; and they will not fail to be grateful to the managers of the Talbot Press for the excellent workmanship of printers and binders. A. G.

THE HYMNS OF THE BREVIARY AND MISSAL. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Rev. Matthew Britt, O.S.B. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1922. 25*s.*

THE ROMAN MISSAL in Latin and English. By Dom F. Cabrol, O.S.B. Tours: Mame. 1922. 15*s.*

THESE two books, though differing widely in character, are both an attempt to popularise in lay circles the beauties contained in the Roman Breviary and Missal. The first, *The Hymns of the Breviary and Missal,* is a work on a large scale, representing years

of patient labour on the part of an American Benedictine. It should open the eyes of the layman to the goodly treasures contained even in the limited portion of Latin Hymnody represented by the Roman Breviary and Missal, while it will help the ecclesiastical student to a deeper understanding and keener appreciation of what his Breviary contains. This is the only work in English which covers precisely the same ground. Though the author has no new theories to advance, and is content with accepted historical data and received interpretations, we owe him our best thanks for a great work conscientiously and enthusiastically accomplished—*non nova sed nove.*

The work falls naturally into the four parts dictated by the chief divisions of the Breviary: the Psalter, the Proper of the Seasons, the Proper of the Saints, the Common of the Saints. It contains 173 Hymns, including all those found in the Breviary, in addition to the five Sequences in the Missal and a few others not in liturgical use, like the *O Deus ego amo Te* of St. Francis Xavier and portions of Bernard of Cluny's long dactylic poem, *De contemptu Mundi.* Each hymn is printed in full—Latin and English in parallel columns—and then a short commentary follows prefaced by details on the authorship, metre and liturgical use of the poem in question. The English renderings (metrical in each case) represent the work of some sixty translators of as widely differing intellectual and spiritual outlook as Dryden and Denis Florence MacCarthy, Sir Walter Scott and Fr. Caswall. To the latter and to the Anglican Rev. J. M. Neale (†1866) fall naturally the lion-share in the English renderings.

The Book is prefaced by a brief historical introduction on the origin of hymns in the Western Church, their inclusion as an integral part of the office, and the varied systems of metre employed. A useful biographical excursus on the authors of the Latin hymns is appended at the end. The whole work is brought out on a grand scale, with excellent reproductions from early Psalters and Breviaries, chiefly from the Abbey of Maria Einsiedeln.

Dom Cabrol's aim in his *compleat* Roman Missal is to enable the faithful, not merely to follow the Mass intelligently, but "to make of the Missal itself their favourite book of devotion." It is the only Missal so far which contains the whole of the Latin text accompanied by an English translation on the opposite column. An interesting and invaluable feature of the edition lies in the brief notes, liturgical and biographical, which precede the Mass of the various feasts. Dom Cabrol's high authority in the province of liturgy secures very reliable work in this department. The

Missal contains a complete Supplement for the dioceses of Ireland with the usual biographical notes. Printed on best India paper the book, in spite of its 1,500 pages, forms a neat volume measuring only 4 by 6 inches and 1 inch thick.

We wish both volumes a fervent godspeed on their journey.

J. J. C.

Philosophy

DIE ERKENNTNISLEHRE OLIVIS. By Bernhard Jansen, S.J. Berlin: F. Dümmler. 1921. Pp. xv. + 125.

Petrus Johannis Olivi was born in the South of France in 1248 or 1249, and died there in 1298. He is best known as the leader of the Spirituals in the Franciscan Order, and as the author of an extravagant theory of the relation of soul and body, which was condemned at the Council of Vienne (1312). His writings were lost, and were only lately re-discovered by Ehrle. Fr. Jansen has been engaged on them for some ten years, and has treated different aspects of them in several publications. He intends to publish an edition of Olivi's philosophical works. The present work gives an admirably full and lucid account of his theory of knowledge.

Olivi's writings give an interesting picture of the struggle between Augustinism and Aristotelianism in the 13th century. He is a follower of Augustine, but is influenced by Aristotle, to whom he adopts an unfriendly tone. He opposes St. Thomas. His views are sometimes referred to by D. Scotus. The rejection of the *species* doctrine, hitherto regarded as a 14th century criticism, is now seen fully developed in Olivi.

His account of knowledge has a strangely modern complexion, suggesting Leibniz, and some forms of New Realism. It may be thus stated. In knowledge, the object *does* nothing; the mind alone is active. The mind directs itself, applies itself, opens itself to the object; it faces, or looks at, the object. It does not receive the object into itself, but goes out to it. The knowing faculty is the complete efficient cause of its own act. The object does not act on the faculty. Its mere presence is sufficient, provided the mind's eye (*aspectus*) is focussed upon it. It is simply the terminus towards which the cognitive activity is directed. It has no causality, except what may be called *causalitas terminativa*. Moreover, no *species* intervenes between the mind and its object. The object itself is immediately present to the mind. The mind does not go out to the object in the sense of actually touching it. The action and contact are virtual, not actual. Nothing is done to the object

when it is known. The whole circuit of activity involved in knowledge is within the knowing faculty itself. This activity is described by various expressions, such as *apprehensiva tentio, visceralis tentio, informativa imbibitio, expressio sigillaris, expressiva visio; actus et aspectus cognitivus figitur in objecto et intentionaliter habet ipsum infra se imbibitum.* The cognitive act is a turning of the mind's eye to the object: this movement is brought to rest (*quietatur*) on the object; it gets thus a definite shape or form or seal; it is definitely articulated or expressed, as knowledge of this or that object, just as a ray of light which springs from a source of light is shaped square or round according as it falls on a square or round surface. The act of knowledge thus shaped by being directed to this or that object may be called an apprehension of the object, a vision of it, an expression or likeness or representation of it, a mental grasp of it; the mind in knowing assimilates, drinks in, is saturated with, the object.

The features of knowledge which this theory brings out are the same as those which Leibniz intends when he says that the mind evolves all its contents from within, and yet mirrors the universe without. The two sorts of expressions used in describing the act of knowledge—(1) *aspectus, intentio, inclinatio, impendentia*, etc., (2) *apprehensio, tentio, visio, imbibitio*, etc.—indicate a favourite antithesis in some recent forms of Realism.

A second important feature in Olivi's system is his doctrine of the interconnexion (*colligantia*) of the faculties. The different faculties, higher and lower, influence one another. But no act of any faculty is an efficient cause of the act of any other. Thus, in knowledge, sense and intellect co-operate; but neither sensation nor image has any efficient causation in bringing about intellectual activity. Sensation draws after it by a natural attraction the act of intellection. This orderly correspondence between the faculties is due to the fact that they all, higher and lower, have a common root.

Traces of this doctrine are found in previous views—*e.g.*, in William of Auvergne; but Olivi was the first to work it out into a complete theory. Although used by him in connexion with his peculiar theory of the relation of soul and body, the "colligantia" doctrine is independent of, and detachable from this. The doctrine is found in the writings of Olivi's pupil, Petrus de Trabibus; but is not further heard of until, in the 16th century, an essentially similar view re-appeared in Suarez, and through his influence came to be widely held. It was a current view when Descartes began his philosophical studies.

J. SHINE.

Poetry

DEVOTIONAL POEMS. By Emily Hickey. London: Elliott Stock. 1922. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

It is difficult—and unseemly—to appreciate works of art—especially religious art—in terms of sixpences; but it is also difficult not to say, off-hand, of this book that it is wonderfully good value for half-a-crown! Some eighty pages of good paper, a portrait-engraving, and then the poems themselves!—those who read the poems will best know that the book is really a bargain. We hardly think it is necessary to say much in commendation of Miss Emily Hickey's poetry. For a long time it has been known in Ireland, England and America, to readers of the *Irish Monthly*, the *Month*, the *Ave Maria*, the *Catholic World* and other magazines. Its characteristics have never been those of fashions that pass. Emotional, but strong, devotional without vague vapidity, her songs and sonnets have that something of sure and solid which belongs to a writer happily moulded by the great past and lovingly in touch with the living present. The qualities of good religious poetry are here in just balance, although perhaps those of the intellectual side predominate. "Credo" fully illustrates this intellectualism. "A King's Daughter of Hethenesse" is a narrative poem of considerable power. The "Noli Timere" addressed by the angel to St. Joseph is expanded to a prayer in very delicate short lines. "Giver of Light" is a finely-rounded sonnet. And there are other things which other people will particularly like.

G. O'N.

GOSPEL PICTURES AND OTHER POEMS. By the Rev. A. Walsh, O.S.A. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne. 1922. 5*s.* net.

There are volumes of verse that, without reaching to supreme excellence, yet bring a sense of relief and refreshment to a hardened reviewer. They are usually the utterances of a naïf simplicity—woodland warblings showing or knowing little of art. But this is not necessary; they may have cost the writer some toil, they may be careful in their art; it is enough that they should have been produced with genuine pleasure, that they give us a genuine mood (including, of course, some gift) of verse-making.

Here is a book which has given us that kind of pleasure. There is no question of artless effusions: the writer's personality precludes any such expectations. A man of learning, of authority, of missionary experience, he is at the same time a student of the art of verse, and fond of metrical refinements. Poetry has not

been to him a vocation, but it has been a very real recreation. His pieces, extremely varied in style and scope, never strike one as laboured for the public eye ; they seem wrought out just so far as served to amuse his own leisure-hour. Writing just as it pleases him about what interests him for the moment, in his half-reverie he carries his reader along with him.

As we might expect, the volume so produced is unequal. There are poems scarcely worthy of their neighbours, parts not worthy of the wholes in which they occur. The skill in verse-*technique* which generally appears makes a few lapses or jars seem rather surprising. The Horatian monologue in blank verse is not adorned by such a line as " Maecenas loved me, but he, too, is late dead." The sonnet " Good Counsel " comes near to excellence ; but line 5 has a " then " which looks ambiguously before and after, and there are two lines too lax for sonnet society :—

> Ask him send into the chasms of my night
> His starshine, and make me walk unafraid.

There are numerous experiments in stanza-building, if not in verse-construction ; and they are generally successful. So in the fine though melancholy poem " Tinnitus Aurium," of which these are two stanzas :—

> Ah ! full of fallacy and tears the season's message !
> The foolish year has now no oil to light his gloom ;
> He fashioned all this wondrous earth with joyous presage—
> And built the while his tomb.
>
> His promises were vain, and vain was our believing,
> And all the voices that to listening spirits call
> Are but the rhythmic beat of Time's soft shuttle weaving
> The winding-sheet of all.

Or, again, the short lines of " Reminiscence " :—

> All sound were violence
> To the deep spell of rest
> That pillowed sense
> Upon her breast.

We should like to quote more—from the Roman pictures, or again the Irish pieces—such as the elegy on Michael Collins, commenting a motto from the Book of Esdras :—

> With one of his hands he did the work,
> With the other he held the sword.

" The River " is a charming symphony of sense and sound. " New Year's Day " brings on some original imaginings as to stellar revolutions. " Christmas Day " leads up to a well-built quatrain which condenses a veritable wealth of thought on the

Incarnation. There are many pieces which will please those in search of good devotional verse—a thing so rarely met with !—while variety ought to make the *ensemble* acceptable to very many readers.

The volume—of 156 pages—is well brought out. It is odd to find the same name—"The Barn"—given to two different poems in different parts of the volume; but in general the work of correction and proof-reading has been carefully done. G. O'N.

Politics

LA QUESTION TURQUE. Par Maurice Pernot.
L'EGYPTE ET L'ANGLETERRE. Par Roger Lambelin.
Paris: Grasset. 1923. 6fr. 75 each.

THERE can be little doubt that the most remarkable and unexpected development in recent world politics has been the return of the Turk to Europe, not as a suppliant with bated breath, but as a victor whom the bankrupt western statesmen seek to placate with hasty concessions. And while, at the moment of writing, the long drawn out haggling at Lausanne has ended in a stalemate it is obvious that the Turkish diplomats have already obtained more than they expected and will garner these fruits at their leisure. The two books under review, dealing as they do with two different yet closely allied aspects of the Near Eastern problem, are most opportune. They are, as one might conjecture, conceived in that detached and impartial spirit which lends such dignity and value to the work of French publicists.

M. Pernot bases his book on his own observations and presents the various aspects of the Turkish problem as it appeared in the early part of last year before the Greek *débâcle* took place. The Ottoman capital appeared to him, under the inter-Allied régime, as an agglomeration of a million and a half inhabitants, a quarter of whom were without housing accommodation and more than a tenth without means of existence. Public order was maintained by strangers who generally ignored the views of the inhabitants. Innumerable Allied functionaries, quarrelling one with the other, mismanaged the public administration and prevented the native authorities from functioning. Justice was suspended, the police absorbed in political work left the criminals free to carry on their multifarious occupations. Commerce was stopped, speculation flourishing, robbery and corruption thriving in every form and degree. Nowhere in war-stricken Europe had he seen such misery and demoralisation. Truly a terrible indictment and one worth pondering over.

If this be Christian rule, can one wonder that Mustafa Kemal's compatriots hail him as a deliverer? His policy may be summarised in the statement: "We shall either conquer the Greeks, or let the Bolshevist flood sweep over Anatolia." The policy of the Angora Parliament, as expounded to M. Pernot by its supporters in Constantinople, is to make Turkey a modern and civilised country whilst expressly reserving their monarchial institutions and religious belief. They stand for parliamentary government, liberty of conscience and the emancipation of women. For the Ottoman Empire, a metaphysical entity, they wish to substitute the Turkish Empire, a political and ethnical reality. To a Frenchman who asked him if he looked for assistance to Moscow and Berlin Kemal replied: "That rests with the Allies. I take assistance where I get it. We are between two dangers: one, the Bolshevist danger, is of the future and hypothetical, for the Turk does not take kindly to communism and social revolution; the other, the Greek danger, is present and pressing. To parry the Greek danger we are obliged to risk the Russian danger." And it is this still present Russian danger which the Turks have used so skilfully at Lausanne.

How far the Angora politicians will live up to their programme of social and parliamentary reform remains to be seen; for the Turk lives in a dream, and whilst the world marches on unfortunately his dream is stationary. His religion differs from others in giving him not only a complete rule of moral life, but of hygienic and social conduct. But he is nevertheless far-seeing as is evidenced by the remark of a former Minister to M. Pernot: "The day when the English perceive that the Greeks are of no further use to them, they will leave them in the lurch and march with us. Peace can only be re-established in the East by France and England working together."

The Eastern question has become a world problem, not only because it concerns the great powers, but because the Eastern peoples themselves have recognised that it primarily concerns themselves. It is a matter for congratulation that the Catholic Church, with its marvellous faculty of adaptation, recognised this change so long ago as 1918, and the efforts of Benedict XV to unite the Christians of the East on a national basis, respecting their special rites and local traditions, led to the erection of a monument in one of the principal places of Constantinople in December, 1921. On its base is inscribed: "To the great Pontiff who reigned in the world's tragic hour, Benedict XV, benefactor of peoples without distinction of nationality or religion, the East gives homage."

M. Lambelin's book contains a complete and accurate survey of the relations between Egypt and England up to 1922, and deals fully with the Nationalist movement of which Zaghoul Pasha is the leader. His conclusion, and it is the conclusion of an impartial and well-informed observer, is that it is necessary not to be under any illusion. The triumph of extreme nationalism in Egypt, he observes, is only possible with the complete overthrow of the British Empire, and as this overthrow does not appear to be at hand it is necessary to find a *modus vivendi*. One is struck by the parallel between Ireland and Egypt which he does not make. Both are of vital strategic importance to England, the one on the West, the other on the East, and both have won for themselves the largest measure of liberty compatible with England's security. That both should develop this liberty and prove their fitness by constructive achievement would seem to be not only good sense, but dictated by those principles of international friendship and co-operation in which alone lies any hope for this fever-stricken and over-nationalised world. JOHN J. HORGAN.

Religion

L'ETUDE COMPAREE DES RELIGIONS. Essai Critique. Par H. Pinard de la Boullaye, S.J. Tome I. Son Histoire dans le Monde Occidental. Paris: Beauchesne. 1922. 36 fr.

IN an article on "Comparative Religion" in the *Irish Theological Quarterly* (Jan., 1917), I ventured to write: "Catholics, too, have entered the field with a zeal that bids fair to reduce very rapidly the initial start gained by Agnostic rivals." Père Pinard's volume is no small proof of the fulfilment of this prophecy. It will be welcome to Catholics, if for this reason alone; but it has many other justifications, and should be well received by all who interest themselves in the comparative study of religion. For, first, it breaks new ground. I know of no other manual quite like it. Within the limits set down in the subtitle it is the most complete exposé yet published of the various attempts to compare the religions of the Western World, and, I think, the most objective. This may seem a bold claim to make for a book written by a professor of Catholic Theology. But Père Pinard is not writing either as theologian or apologist. He seeks merely as historian to tell the story of the Comparative Study of Religions. And his detachment is so complete that he almost foresees misunderstanding of his attitude—I hope wrongly. For his attitude is right granted the purpose of his work.

That purpose is thus explained in Chapter 10 (p. 451) :—

Nous n'avons voulu écrire ni une histoire générale des religions, ni l'histoire particulière, ni l'apologie d'aucune d'entre elles, ni une philosophie de la Religion. Nous bornant à exposer avec exactitude et à juger avec impartialité les études qui ont eu pour objet la comparaison des religions, nous nous sommes uniquement proposé, pour nous et pour le lecteur qui voudrait nous suivre, de mûrir notre pensée et d'affiner notre sens critique, en profitant des leçons du passé. Sans fournir aucune réponse positive aux multiples questions que soulève la diversité des cultes, nous souhaitions seulement apprendre à les aborder de manière vraîment scientifique.

Yet his aim, even thus strictly delimited, is still ambitious. The most cursory glance at the 415 quarto pages will show the mass of material to be read, sifted and reduced to ordered narrative. There has gone to the making of it that *improbus labor* without which no work of erudition is now possible. But mere industry does not suffice. Only too often it results in an amorphous collection of facts, valuable no doubt in themselves and capable of being utilised by specialists, but lacking due correlation and thus of little value except to a narrow circle of initiates. It is a case of the Fachmann writing for Fachmänner with the *Procul, o procul, este profani* upon his lips. The *profani*, who are a larger number than is supposed, are generally forced to wait till some synthetic spirit, usually a Frenchman, comes along and evolves order out of the chaos.

Père Pinard has set himself this task, and has accomplished it most successfully. I need hardly say that to do so a mastery of the subject was necessary. Otherwise the result must be a work of flimsy generalisation not commanding confidence. But our author commands confidence from the start. He shows such an acquaintance, with the sources in many cases, with the most recent results of research in others, as makes even the critic's duty difficult; for he carries us through many ages, places, schools, cultures and literatures. I have examined more closely certain portions of the book precisely to test his competence, and he stands the test triumphantly. I refer particularly to his treatment of Syncretism in the early Christian era, the views of the Fathers and Schoolmen, and above all the last two hundred pages, which deal more particularly with the history of the science in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These latter are, of course, the most important, earlier attempts at the comparison of religions being less detailed and less scientific. It is in this portion particularly he has shown most mastery of the subject. It would not be easy to tell the story with greater fairness or completeness. Fortunately the young science has not yet reached such an extension as makes it impossible for

one mind to keep pace with its growth. Père Pinard has obviously maintained intimate and daily touch with the literature of the question, and has left no name of any moment unremembered and no theory of any importance unexplained. The result is a very scholarly and accurate contribution to the history of religious thought. The second volume, dealing with methodology, will be awaited with interest. P. J. GANNON.

THE SEPTUAGINT AND JEWISH WORSHIP. A Study in Origins. The Schweich Lectures, 1920. By H. St. John Thackeray, M.A. London : Milford. 1921. 6*s.* net.

THIS work contains the Schweich Lectures for 1920. There are three lectures, in which are discussed : (*a*) the origin of the Greek Old Testament ; (*b*) the influence of the Liturgy associated with the Feasts of Pentecost and Tabernacles on the text of the Old Testament ; (*c*) the light thrown on the Book of Baruch by the liturgy of the 9th Ab—the day of mourning for the burning of the Temple. In the lecture on the origins of the Septuagint Dr. Thackeray, setting aside as untrustworthy most of the details of the *Letter of Aristeas*, expounds the now generally received theory that "the Greek Bible owed its origin to a popular demand for a version in the vulgar tongue," and that "it was a people's book, designed undoubtedly for synagogue use." He dates its beginnings in the 3rd century B.C.—when the Pentateuch was translated by "a small company" of scholars. The "Prophets" and "Writings" were translated into Greek in the course of the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., the Greek prophets being, like the Pentateuch, "a semi-official production, the work of a small company," while the Greek "Writings" were "the outcome of individual enterprise." The Greek Bible was well known and highly esteemed in Palestine, and it became, in due course, the Bible of the early Christian community. Animosity towards Christianity and the development of textual study by Rabbi Akiba led to the production in the second century A.D. of new Greek versions of the Old Testament for use in the Jewish Diaspora. Such were the versions of Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus, and others. Later came the period of Christian critical revision of the Septuagint—marked by the work of Origen, and later by that of Hesychius and Lucian.

Dr. Thackeray now recommends that the Greek Old Testament be subjected to that same kind of patient analytic criticism which has been hitherto employed on the Massoretic text. This, he believes, will lead to the discovery of important stratifications in the Septuagint and of the influences which produced them. He

illustrates his proposals by a study of the Books of Reigns (=Books of Kings), and reaches interesting conclusions regarding the first form of the Greek rendering of those Books and the subsequent additions to that form. In this connection he raises the suggestive problem of the existence of an "Ur-Theodotion," and indicates reasons for supposing that Theodotion incorporated into his text liturgical versions of sections of the Scriptures which were in use in his time. In his discussion of the text of Jeremiah, Dr. Thackeray advances cogent arguments to prove that the order of the Greek Jeremiah (including the position of the Oracles against the Nations) is not due to the caprice of the Greek translators, nor to the existence in their day of different recensions of the Hebrew text. The Greek version is, obviously, the product of at least two sets of workers, and the division of the labour of translating was so arranged that the Oracles were assigned partly to one group and partly to the other. This implies that the translators followed the order which they found in the existing Hebrew codices, and it implies, probably, further that the Hebrew text itself existed in two rolls, the second of which began informally in the middle of the Oracles where the first ended It seems to have been customary to divide books of the Old Testament rather mechanically into two parts, practically equal; and the Greek translators divided the work of translation mechanically among themselves in the same fashion. This explains such differences of rendering as we frequently find between the earlier and later portions of the books of the Greek Bible (for instance, in Ezechiel).

Dr. Thackeray shows how the effect of Jewish Liturgy on the Greek and the Hebrew texts of the Old Testament can be traced in many striking points. Psalms and other liturgical compositions appear to be strongly influenced by the sections of Scripture prescribed by the Liturgy for use at the feasts for which those psalms, etc., were written, and the influence of the ceremonial of the Feasts can be detected in the text of liturgical compositions in glosses and liturgical directions which have been mistakenly incorporated in the Biblical text. Dr. Thackeray rightly emphasises the value of the Septuagint as a means for explaining and sometimes emending the Massoretic text. The Psalm of Habakkuk (pp. 47-55) is peculiarly interesting as expounded by Dr. Thackeray from the liturgical point of view. Psalms 76, 42, 43, 118 are all examined from the standpoint of the Liturgy of Tabernacles, and the new and interesting light which is thrown on these Psalms by liturgical examination makes one wish that Dr. Thackeray could find time to give us a complete commentary on the Greek Psalter, written in the manner

in which he has here treated Ps. 76. In the concluding lecture the Book of Baruch is shown to be a liturgical composition intended for use on the 9th Ab. The lecture is an admirable introduction to a study of the book. In a series of Appendices the author supplies the critical bases for a number of statements in the Lectures, and a copy of the Jewish Calendar. There is a satisfactory General Index, and an excellent Index of Biblical and Rabbinical references.

No student of the Septuagint can fail to profit largely from the careful study of this learned work.

P. Boylan

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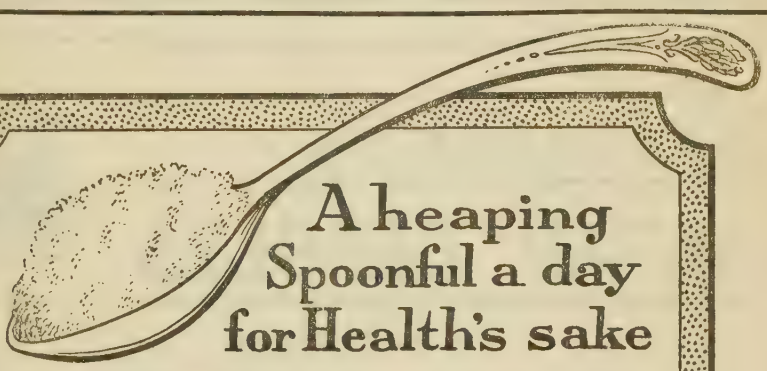

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